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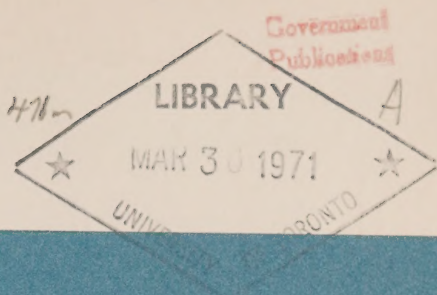












# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*Monthly Bulletin of the Department of External Affairs*

CANADA

*Vol. XXIII No. 1-12 In this Issue*

*January 1971*

*DECEMBER*

THE OPERATIONS CENTRE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

TASK FORCE ON KIDNAPPING

WORKING TO STOP THE ARMS RACE

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS FACES THE ENVIRONMENTAL QUESTION

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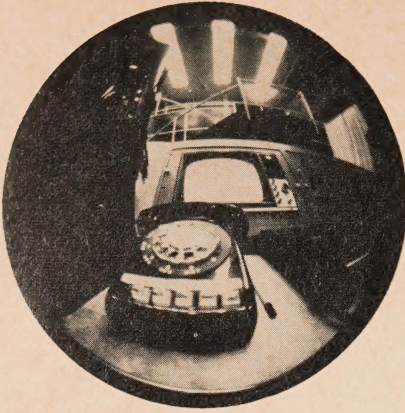


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Officials from external affairs, the prime minister's office, the Privy Council office, the RCMP and other agencies were assigned to the crisis task force

External affairs' top official, Ed Ritchie, whose office is just down the corridor, was often in the centre directing operations.

# East Block's hot spot

By The Canadian Press

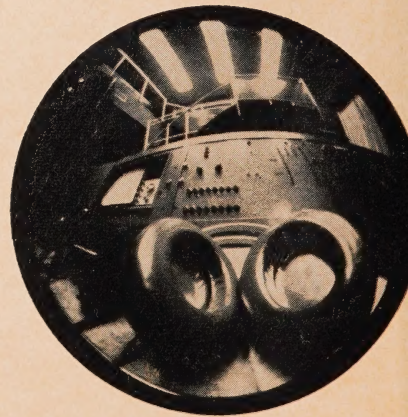
A steel spiked gate, a dingy corridor and a blue cubicle separate the operations centre from the rest of the century-old East Block on Parliament Hill.

The centre was busier than usual Tuesday night. It is being used as federal headquarters in the effort to get kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James Cross back alive.

Undersecretary of State E. A. Ritchie and others of his rank spent much of the night in or near the centre.

The government wants to establish contact with the kidnappers. Telephone operators were told to route any calls about the kidnapping to the centre.

A representative from the British High Commission was invited to sit in so that he could keep his government informed on developments concerning trade commissioner Cross.





# *The Operations Centre of the Department of External Affairs*

**I**N the first days after the kidnapping of James Cross, the British Trade Commissioner in Montreal, articles appeared in Canadian papers describing the activity generated in political and official circles in Ottawa by the abduction. One such article, by Anthony Westell, appeared in the *Toronto Star* and other papers. "In the new Operations Centre on the second floor of the East Block," the story said, "the federal task force assembled to cope with the Cross kidnapping . . . Amid the forest of cables and wires uniting the Centre to Canadian missions abroad and, for this crisis, the Quebec Government, officers kept tabs on all rumours, developments and reactions in Canada."

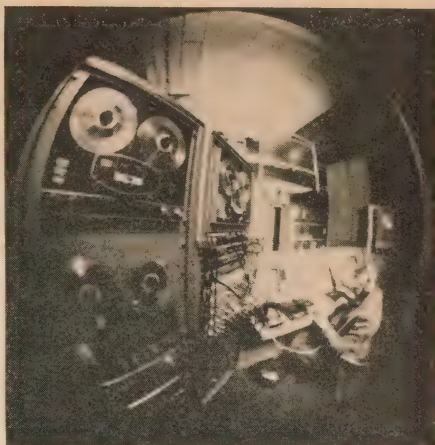
These stories were the first to give publicity to a new organ of the Department of External Affairs known as the Operations Centre. In conception and execution, the Centre, as the article makes clear, was unlike anything that had existed in the Department before. It came into being about a year ago in order to fulfil an urgent need that had existed for some time — to have one focal

point for crisis management, a place where, in times of tension and in routine times, pertinent information from all sources could be monitored, assessed and distributed rapidly to those in the Government and the Department who should have it, and where a specially-appointed group charged with handling a crisis could be constantly in touch with those developments affecting decisions they were called on to make.

## **Time Element**

In this age of instant communications, the amount of time the Department, and the Government, have to assess a

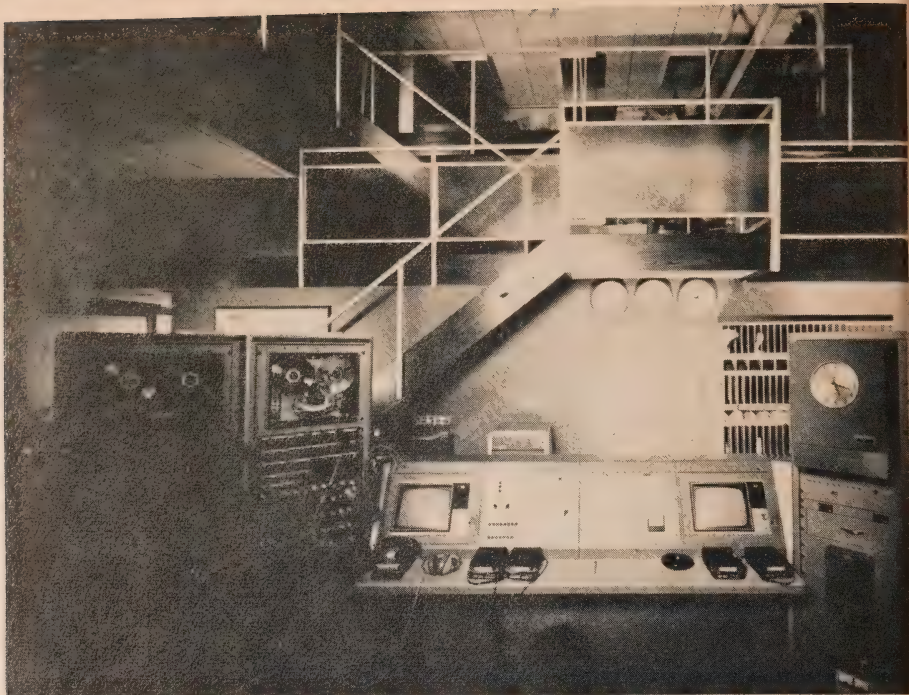
situation and make a decision is continually dwindling. It is the job of the Operations Centre to see that those who need the latest information have it,



*Watch on the World*



*Master clock*



*Watch Office Monitoring Console and Task Force Deck*

and have it fast. It can help to prepare in advance for quick and effective reaction; contingency planning is an important part of the work of the Centre.

Now a year old, the Operations Centre has more than proved its worth, not least in times of crisis. Its work includes: the monitoring of all substantive departmental telegrams, as well as Canadian and other wire-service copy and radio and television broadcasts; the distribution of bulletins and information sheets on developments it is monitoring; and the preparation each day at dawn of an overnight digest of significant telegrams and media reports from around the world, for members of the Government, senior officials of numerous departments and agencies, and the members of the Department itself.

The Centre's full potential as a repository and disseminator of facts is evident whenever a task force begins to operate from within its confines. At that moment the Centre can become the "bridge" from which the Department is commanded, at least during the crisis at hand.

Structurally, the Operations Centre is a division of the Under-Secretary's Central Staff. Headed by a Director, it has a staff of experienced foreign service officers, clerks and stenographers to carry out day-to-day monitoring, assessing and briefing responsibilities of the Watch Office, to assist senior management by undertaking secretariat functions of a broad variety and, in times of crisis, to support special task force operations. Located since June 1970 in specially-designed quarters in the East Block of the Parliament Buildings, the



Centre incorporates an impressive list of facilities — among others a conference room with diverse briefing facilities, an extensive data-base, and communications-monitoring facilities including broad access to radio, television, wire services and audio and visual recording.



*Situations Briefing Room*



# *Task Force on Kidnapping*

*Now that the former Senior British Trade Commissioner in Montreal, Mr. James Cross, is safe, the officers and others who composed the special interdepartmental task force have returned to their regular duties. The task force was established as soon as the Department of External Affairs was informed of the kidnapping of the British diplomat and, during the weeks of round-the-clock operations, was directed by Mr. Claude Roquet, a foreign service officer with the Department of External Affairs. Headquarters for the task force was the External Affairs Operations Centre in the East Block of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa.*

*Both the personnel of the task force and the facilities of the Operations Centre were made available to all agencies of government concerned with the kidnapping, including those of the government of Quebec, during the 61 tense days and nights, and particularly the period following the kidnapping of the late Quebec Minister of Labour, Mr. Pierre Laporte.*

*The editors of Canada today/d'aujourd'hui, the monthly publication of the Canadian Embassy, Washington, subsequently interviewed Mr. Roquet, and Mr. Allan Rowe, one of the task force members; a transcript of the interview follows:*

## **What was the task force ?**

The task force was created within minutes of the kidnapping; it was an informal group of officials which functioned in a very elastic manner in the Operations Centre of the Department of External Affairs. The Operations Centre is designed for just this kind of "crisis management" function. Its permanent staff and special facilities and equipment supported the task force operation in a variety of ways.

The task force was interdepartmental. The Department of External Affairs provided the facilities, the head and a number of members of the group; but several other departments also participated — the Prime Minister's office, the Privy Council, the Solicitor General's office, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the National Defence Department, the Justice Department and the Transport Department. Its main function was to provide a base with ready access to all the information media and all decision-making centres involved in the crisis. By combining the receiving, distribution and analysis of all information on the crisis, it also became a useful centre for consulting with all the federal and provincial authorities who played major roles in the crisis. Of course, it was not the only centre of concern and activity in this field.

While the task force was interdepartmental, it also represented the particular interest of the Department of External Affairs in the matter because, of course, the kidnap victim was a foreign representative and, as things turned out, the essential safe-conduct had to be arranged with a foreign government.

As it was a diplomat who was kidnapped, our Department was immediately seized of the problem because of our international legal obligations under the various conventions for the protection and well-being of diplomats.

**At what point were the kidnappers' demands made known and what was the immediate reaction to them ?**

A communiqué giving the kidnappers' demands was received around mid-afternoon on the day of Mr. Cross' abduction.

The demands in the order they put them in were: All police investigations to be stopped. A manifesto of the FLQ to be published in the press and on television. The release of 23 so-called political prisoners. Air transport to move the prisoners to Algeria or Cuba. Rehiring of the La Palme mail-delivery workers in Montreal. A ransom of \$500,000. And public disclosure of the identity of an alleged informer who the FLQ apparently believed had caused some problems for them. Those were the initial demands.

On the surface, it didn't seem that all these demands were of equal seriousness or importance. Part of the document was obviously propaganda.

There was a series of immediate consultations between Ottawa and Quebec at various levels, leading to the position announced by the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the House of Commons on October 6. Mr. Sharp then confirmed receipt of the FLQ note, summarized the seven conditions which it contained, declared them a wholly unreasonable set of demands, and went on to say that he hoped the FLQ would communicate further with the authorities.

**At what point was work actually started on the safe conduct as a contingency ?**

It was felt from the start that a safe conduct for the kidnappers themselves would not be too difficult a problem. It could have been arranged very quickly. But one must remember that the kidnappers were talking about the release and safe conduct of prisoners who had been condemned by normal legal processes, not for their opinions but for crimes. Their release was certainly not in the cards. When planning for a safe conduct, what we were prepared to think about was the possibility of transport out of Canada for the kidnappers themselves.

Soon after the initial communiqué became public knowledge, the Governments of Cuba and Algeria were advised, as a matter of courtesy, that their countries had been mentioned in these communiqués; from that point onward we kept in touch with the two governments.

At the outset we naturally concentrated our effort on what to make of the set of unacceptable demands which confronted us. The Government of Canada and the government of Quebec tried to decide to what extent these people could be influenced, what could be done to keep them from killing. The first stage was one where the main concern of the Government was to keep a dialogue going while the situation was being assessed . . . . Hence the broadcast of the manifesto as requested by the kidnappers, and the offer of talks.

On October 10, when Mr. Choquette, the Quebec Minister of Justice, outlined more fully the official position, he indicated, among other things, that the kidnappers would receive safe conduct in exchange for the release of Mr. Cross.

### **How were you able to feel the mood of the kidnappers ?**

There was a good deal of effort made to analyze very closely everything that came from them. There were signs in several of their communiqués that the so-called "Liberation Cell" was in no rush to kill Mr. Cross. The Government had already made certain gestures, such as broadcasting what the kidnappers called the manifesto. Deadlines put on Mr. Cross's life passed without mishap and gradually one saw that these people might wish to take advantage of an opportunity to get out of the predicament they had created for themselves. Some of their conditions were soon toned down; for instance, they declared that they would not kill for the sake of dollars. There was sufficient difference between the various communiqués to enable us to think that the situation was still fluid and that the kidnappers were not necessarily as unyielding as they had made out in the beginning. Unfortunately, the situation was radically altered by the subsequent kidnapping of Mr. Laporte and the rigid attitude adopted by his abductors.

### **Can you go into some detail on the safe-conduct arrangements ?**

The only discussion we ever had with the Cubans and Algerians concerned safe-conduct arrangements for the abductors. There was never any question in our minds of their receiving prisoners.

For various practical reasons (geographical distance, presence of a Cuban Consulate in Montreal and of a resident Canadian mission in Havana), it was decided that these arrangements should be made with Cuba. We made a request that Cuba assist us for humanitarian reasons, and the Cuban Government agreed. The safe-conduct offer was then formulated in consultation with the Cubans.

Planning and implementation of the safe conduct involved complex consultations and co-operation among federal and Quebec government authorities Cuban representatives, the police forces and also the armed forces, which provided transport facilities. There were rehearsals by the Government personnel involved to ensure that the procedure worked out for the safe conduct would unfold without incident. The thoroughness and intensity of these consultations (including those with the Cubans) made it possible for the safe conduct to be effected as smoothly as it was. Although it is not necessary to repeat all the facts that are already public knowledge about these events, one should not forget the major role played by the lawyer Robert Demers, who, in consultation with all the authorities concerned, managed to secure the kidnappers' acceptance of the safe-conduct procedure.

Safe conduct was offered in general terms on the 10th. The offer was repeated by Mr. Bourassa in his statement of October 15, which included a



specific reference to Cuba <sup>(1)</sup>. A detailed description of the safe-conduct arrangements was broadcast repeatedly on the 17th, before the death of Mr. Laporte. Even after the death of Mr. Laporte, Quebec sources promptly confirmed that the safe conduct was still available to the kidnappers of Mr. Cross. The object was to make sure not only that the kidnappers would know that this had been formally offered by the authorities but that they would also be aware of all the mechanics of it, so they could assess the fairness of the proposal and know exactly how to proceed.

There is no doubt that the kidnappers received all this information immediately. They knew that the arrangements had been organized around the co-operation of the Cuban Government. The Quebec and Canadian authorities early decided that it was essential not simply to make a vague offer of safe conduct but to be very concrete and even dramatic — to hold out to the kidnappers something which they could clearly visualize. The device of consular immunity was deliberately designed to provide for a kind of neutral ground. The site of Expo 67 had been chosen for the temporary extension of the Cuban Consulate to assure these people also that they would be coming to a wide-open space, an area that was familiar to them. The arrangements for clearing and protecting the site were made known. The fact that aircraft were standing by was publicized for several weeks. It was clear to all that everything was ready if only the kidnappers would come forward.

In the end, as you know, the kidnappers did not give themselves up voluntarily. They were discovered by the police. The safe conduct was offered to them in order to avoid a shoot-out and to ensure that Mr. Cross would not be injured.

It was stated clearly, right from the start, that the kidnappers could keep their weapons and their hostages — in other words, maintaining their own bargaining power all the way until they were in the hands of the Cuban representatives. A further guarantee was that the hostages would not be turned over by them directly to the Canadian authorities. They themselves would not surrender to the Canadian authorities but to the Cuban authorities. The hostages would not be released until the kidnappers had reached Cuba.

**Was there a contingency plan for what would happen to the hostages if the kidnappers did not make it? Were they told what would happen to Mr. Cross if they didn't reach Cuba?**

In other words, if they had been seized by the Canadian authorities, or something like that?

Their principal guarantee was that any such development would have caused an international scandal of major proportions. The Canadian Government, in effect, was deliberately putting itself in a situation where any double-

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(1) Commenting on the offer on October 16, Prime Minister Trudeau said: "By offering the kidnappers safe exit from Canada we removed from them any possible motivation for murdering their hostages."

cross would have been an intolerable development. We had built a situation where we were compelled to stick to our bargain, precisely because we intended to do so. We had no other wish than to abide scrupulously by every detail of these arrangements. This is what happened.

The mechanism for safe conduct in this case was different, to my knowledge, from anything that has happened in any other country. There have been kidnappings elsewhere. People have been released from prison and shipped abroad, and the victims subsequently released. That kind of operation is relatively simpler because the kidnappers themselves don't feel trapped. They're not apprehended. They continue to hold their hostage. The local government in that type of situation merely tries to protect itself from any double-crossing. For instance, it arranges for prisoners to be sent out of the country and put in the hands of an impartial third party, say the government of X. Once the prisoners are there, they await the release of the hostage. When he is released, the government of X proceeds to send the prisoners on to Y, their final destination. If the hostage is not released, the government of X presumably returns these people to their country of origin, in accordance with prior undertakings. In our case, we had to devise a system whereby the kidnappers would come forward of their own free will and release their hostage before they had attained safe haven abroad. It was quite tricky.

The kidnappers obviously expected that the Canadian Government would play fair. The way they behaved when they arrived at Terre des Hommes, the way they behaved during the trip, was not suspicious. They obviously thought the mechanism provided quite reasonable assurance.

**There was never any problem in the fact  
that Canadian officials would accompany them ?**

No, because, first, they were accompanied by the Cuban representative who had received them at Man and His World. Secondly, they seemed to find it quite natural for Canadian officials to accompany them. After all, we had to satisfy ourselves that the arrangements were complied with. There was no surprise, no resistance.

**Can you describe the flight ? Did you talk with the kidnappers during the trip ?**

The flight itself was in a Canadian aircraft manned by Canadian personnel. The atmosphere was quite relaxed, quiet and subdued. There was no unpleasantness. We spoke with the kidnappers, who seemed to react quite well to our presence. The Canadian Government had made available a doctor on the flight — one of the women was expecting a child at almost any moment.

**What is the status of the task force now ?**

The officers who comprised it have now returned to their regular duties, and the Operations Centre continues its normal functions.

There may have been some misconceptions among people about how the Centre in fact did carry out its activities — that the electronic gear we had at our disposal may have constituted a super electronic brain thinking out our whole policy. Nothing could be further from the truth. What the Centre's equipment did do mainly was to serve as a mechanism for accelerating the flow of information, sorting it out, and enabling a group of people from various departments and agencies to consider situations methodically. In the end all the thinking was done by people, in the same way that the kidnapping and, unfortunately, the killing had been done by people.



## *Working to Stop the Arms Race*

THE Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) held two sessions in Geneva in 1970, from February 17 to April 30 and from June 16 to September 3, during which attention was directed mainly to negotiations on a seabed arms-control treaty and supplementary measures to ban chemical and biological weapons of warfare. On a Canadian initiative, the Committee also gave consideration to the existing and potential international capability for seismological monitoring of an underground nuclear-test ban. Aspects of general and complete disarmament were discussed and the Geneva Committee reported to the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly on its efforts to prepare a program of action for the Disarmament Decade that had been proclaimed by the twenty-fourth General Assembly for the 1970s.

### **Non-Proliferation Treaty**

The Disarmament Decade opened auspiciously on March 5, 1970, when the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) came into force through its ratification by 43 states. Canada had been one of the first "near-nuclear" nations to sign the treaty — on July 23, 1968 — and to ratify it — on January 8, 1969. The entry into force of this treaty was considered to be a major achievement in the field of arms control and disarmament; to date it has been signed by 99 nations and ratified by 63. Unfortunately, two nuclear powers, France and China, have not acceded and a number of "near-nuclear" nations have not yet signed or ratified. Negotiations intended to implement the safeguards provisions of Article III of the NPT were initiated in the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) between the United States and the Soviet Union continued during 1970 in pursuit of the undertaking in Article VI of this treaty, which commits the nuclear powers party to it "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament . . .".

### **Seabed Arms-Control Treaty**

The principal achievement of the Geneva Committee during 1970 was the successful negotiation and the commendation of the draft Treaty on the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons on the Seabed and Ocean-Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof (Seabed Arms-Control Treaty). The joint draft treaty tabled by the co-chairmen of the CCD, the United States and the Soviet Union, on October 30, 1969, had been subjected to much criticism at the 1969 General Assembly, many members expressing regret that the scope of the prohibitions was limited to nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The draft treaty's definition of the 12-mile zone that would be exempted from the prohibitions was also criticized, particularly in relation to its references to the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone. However, the inadequacy of the verifi-

cation procedures envisaged in the draft treaty proved to be the focus of most concern, and there was strong support for the specifically-defined procedures Canada had formulated and presented in a working paper. The Canadian proposal involved: (a) a clear step-by-step procedure for detection, investigation and verification of suspected violations of the treaty; (b) international assistance for less-developed states lacking the capability or sophisticated equipment to ensure that the provisions of the treaty were being respected; and (c) the protection of the rights of coastal states on their continental shelves.

In the light of this criticism, the co-chairmen tabled a revised joint draft treaty in the CCD on April 23, 1970, which incorporated a number of significant changes in response to the demands of other governments, including most of the procedures outlined in the Canadian working paper on verification. However, the revised text omitted from the verification article a clause that provided for recourse to international procedures, including the good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The purpose of this clause was to ensure that nations need not depend on the benevolence of others with advanced under-sea technological competence; and, taking into account the desirability of the treaty's gaining the widest possible adherence among member states of the United Nations, in particular among those less-developed states unable to rely on alliance arrangements for assistance in verification procedures, Canada urged the authors of the draft treaty to consider the reinstatement of this clause.

Further improvements were made in the final revised draft treaty tabled in the CCD by the co-chairmen on September 1, 1970. Although the verification article did not refer specifically to the Secretary-General, it provided for "international procedures within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter". The draft treaty was forwarded to the United Nations General Assembly, which commended it on December 7, 1970, by a vote of 104 to two, with two abstentions. Canada was one of the co-sponsors of the resolution. It is expected that the treaty will be opened for signature in London, Moscow and Washington early in 1971.

### **Chemical and Biological Warfare (CBW)**

During 1970 the Geneva Disarmament Committee continued to discuss ways of strengthening and supplementing the Geneva Protocol of 1925 through measures to prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons. The debate centered on two main questions: (a) whether it was desirable to negotiate one comprehensive agreement covering both chemical and biological weapons as proposed in the draft convention sponsored by the Soviet Union or whether prohibitions of biological weapons should be promulgated separately as proposed in the British draft convention; and (b) whether it was possible to devise adequate verification procedures that were technically and politically acceptable. A number of countries, including Canada, contributed working papers on aspects of the extremely complex problem of verification of the production and

stockpiling of chemical agents produced for industrial as well as for military purposes. However, a solution to this difficult question is not yet in sight.

In an attempt to promote the development of a consensus concerning chemical and biological weapons, Canada made an unequivocal statement of position on March 24, 1970: "Canada never has had and does not now possess any biological weapons (or toxins) and does not intend to develop, produce, acquire, stockpile or use such weapons at any time in the future. Canada does not possess any chemical weapons and does not intend to develop, produce, acquire, stockpile or use such weapons at any time in the future unless these weapons should be used against the military forces or the civil population of Canada or its allies. The latter condition is in accordance with the reservations Canada entered at the time of our ratification of the Geneva Protocol of 1925. Canada would consider formally withdrawing her reservations if effective and verifiable agreements to destroy all stockpiles and prevent the development, production and acquisition of chemical weapons can be concluded. Tear gas and other crowd and riot control agents are not included in this commitment because their use or the prohibition of their use in war presents practical problems in relation to the use of the same agents by police and armed forces for law enforcement purposes that require detailed study and resolution."

The United Nations General Assembly debated these controversial issues and eventually approved a resolution requesting the Geneva Committee to continue its negotiations with a view to prohibiting, as a matter of urgency, the development, production and stockpiling of these weapons and to their elimination from all military arsenals. The resolution was adopted on December 7, by a vote of 113 to none, with two abstentions.

### **Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB)**

The need for a comprehensive test ban that would prohibit underground nuclear tests and thus supplement the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, which prohibits nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, has long been recognized by members of the CCD. However, an intractable impasse on verification has prevented the conclusion of a supplementary treaty; the United States insists that on-site inspections are necessary in order to detect violations of the agreement, while the Soviet Union insists that "national means" of seismological detection are entirely adequate for this purposes. In recent years Canada has taken the initiative in trying to reduce the proportions of this problem. A Canadian resolution at the 1969 General Assembly called for "the provision of certain information in the context of the creation of a worldwide exchange of seismological data which would facilitate the achievement of a comprehensive test ban". The resolution, in spite of opposition from the Soviet Union and its allies, won widespread support and the requested information was submitted by most member states of the United Nations. This information concerning seismic monitoring facilities was carefully analysed by Canadian seismologists during 1970. On



August 12, the Geneva Committee convened at the level of scientific experts to discuss the Canadian analysis, which won wide commendation.

A fuller scientific study incorporating all the responses of the countries concerned was circulated at the 1970 General Assembly, where a Canadian resolution attracted 39 co-sponsors and was adopted in the General Assembly by a vote of 102 to none, with 13 abstentions. (Perhaps significantly, the Soviet Union and its allies abstained instead of opposing the resolution). This resolution urges member nations to improve, where possible, their contribution to high-quality seismic data and to assist in the development of seismic facilities that would facilitate the achievement of a comprehensive test ban. The resolution also calls upon the Geneva Committee to focus attention on seismological verification capabilities in an effort to overcome the deadlocks on the inspection issue.

### **Other Issues**

During the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly, a number of other issues in the field of arms control and disarmament were considered:

- (1) A resolution calling for an immediate cessation of the testing and deployment of nuclear weapons was approved by 102 (Canada) to none, with 14 abstentions. The Canadian vote was explained as follows: "The Canadian delegation voted in favour of this resolution because Canada shares the hope here expressed that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) will succeed and that the arms race can be curtailed. We also recognize that public expectations and concerns inevitably arise with regard to SALT. We nevertheless believe it unwise to minimize the complex issues involved in this negotiation and unrealistic to expect rapid progress or immediate results from SALT, which involve the most fundamental security interests and hence the negotiation of adequate and effective verification arrangements."
- (2) A resolution requesting the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with the assistance of qualified consultant experts appointed by him, to prepare a report on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures was approved unanimously.
- (3) A resolution requesting the International Atomic Energy Agency to continue its program of studies of the feasibility of an international service to provide nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes under appropriate international control was passed by a vote of 109 (Canada) to none, with five abstentions.
- (4) A resolution requesting the International Atomic Energy Agency, where the implementation of safeguards under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was being considered, to pay attention to the safeguards required with respect to new techniques for uranium enrichment was approved by a vote of 107 (Canada) to none, with seven abstentions.
- (5) A resolution regretting the fact that not all the nuclear-weapon states concerned had yet signed Additional Protocol II under which the

nuclear-weapon powers undertook to respect the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), and requesting a report on this situation, was passed by a vote of 104 (Canada) to none, with 12 abstentions.

- (6) A resolution calling on the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency to continue reporting on the implementation of the results of the 1968 Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States (CNNWS) was approved by 106 (Canada) to none, with nine abstentions.

### **Disarmament Decade**

In response to a 1969 General Assembly resolution that proclaimed the 1970s as a Disarmament Decade and requested the CCD to draw up a comprehensive program leading to a cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the content of such a program was discussed at some length in the CCD. The Canadian delegation, which considered the proclamation of the Disarmament Decade to be primarily an incentive to progress during the 1970s on specific measures of arms control and disarmament, urged that the program for the seventies reflect a constructive approach and not a rigid timetable of theoretical disarmament measures or a return to polemical debate on the co-chairmen's draft disarmament treaties of 1962. On August 27, Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia presented a draft comprehensive program incorporating elements of all the suggestions that had been made; in Canada's view, this program was a realistic effort to find an acceptable compromise formula. Nevertheless, disagreement concerning the proposed program was prolonged into the General Assembly and into the vote on the pertinent resolution referring to the tripartite draft and other proposals, which was adopted on December 7 by a vote of 106 (Canada) to none, with ten abstentions (including the Soviet Union and its allies except Romania).

### **Canadian Policy**

Canadian policy in promoting arms-control and disarmament negotiations on a realistic and practical basis was outlined in the document *Foreign Policy for Canadians*, which said:

During the 1970s hopes for progress toward disarmament and for stopping the arms race are most likely to be realized through arms control and limitation agreements. Nevertheless, general and complete disarmament remains an ultimate objective of Canadian policy as well as one of the United Nations.

In the 1970s, Canada should assign a high priority to working to stop the arms race in nuclear and other weapons as a means of contributing to Canadian security and to a less dangerous world environment. In particular, Canada should not rest content to see the major nuclear powers determine exclusively the pace of progress or lack of it in the field of arms control. Rather, Canada should pursue these arms control objectives persistently and imaginatively . . .

# North Atlantic Treaty Organization

MINISTERIAL MEETING, 1970

FROM December 2 to 4, 1970, the foreign and defence ministers of members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization convened in Brussels for their annual joint meeting. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, and the Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Donald S. Macdonald, represented Canada.

Before the beginning of the meeting, Mr. Sharp addressed the Union of Foreign Journalists in Belgium and spoke of Canada's present policy towards the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. "Canada", he said, "has just completed a fundamental review of foreign policy, begun over two years ago. One of the questions that had to be faced and settled early in the review was our membership in NATO and related questions of force contributions in Europe. The result was that Canada is — and will remain — a fully committed member of the North Atlantic alliance. Canada's security is inextricably bound up with



NATO Photo

*In attendance at a session of the ministerial meeting of NATO held in Brussels from December 2 to 4, 1970 (left to right): the Honourable Donald Macdonald, Canada's Minister of National Defence; the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs; and Mr. Ross Campbell, Permanent Representative of Canada to NATO.*



Europe's and Canada will continue to play its part in European security arrangements. These decisions were taken after an exhaustive examination of factors and trends in Europe, attitudes in Canada and alternatives ranging from disengagement from current world power relationships to increased involvement in collective security arrangements. Few, if any, NATO countries have subjected their membership in NATO to so thoroughgoing a study. That Canada has done so, and determined that Canadian interests call for continued membership and continued military presence in Europe, strengthens the alliance. Against this background, the precise allocation of Canadian defence resources — as between the European theatre and the North American and Atlantic regions of NATO — is largely a matter of deciding where these resources can be used most effectively in the common interest. I can tell you, however, that the Canadian Government has no plans for any further reduction in the level of its military contribution in Europe in the foreseeable future."

*Excerpts follow from Mr. Sharp's December 9 report on the ministerial meeting to the House of Commons and from the communiqué issued by the alliance at the conclusion of the Brussels meeting :*

### **House of Commons Report**

The timing of my visit to Europe was determined by the NATO December ministerial meeting. In the course of my statement there, I said that the developments in the last year suggest that we may have reached a turning-point in East-West relations in Europe. The sterile confrontation that has characterized these relations since the end of the Second World War is beginning to give way to a real effort to solve many of the intractable problems presented by the division of Europe. Interlocking negotiations with the Soviet Union are taking place on a broad front.

There can be no doubt that the conclusion of the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland constitutes progress. These are historic developments that could make a major contribution to a healthier situation in Central Europe. The resumption of intra-German talks is another encouraging move, even though these talks are beset with difficulties. The question remains, however, whether the Moscow and Warsaw treaties — as yet unratified — in themselves constitute sufficient progress to justify moving toward a general conference on European security.

There was virtually unanimous agreement that the progress to date was insufficient, largely because no satisfactory arrangement for Berlin has yet been reached. Canada concurred in this view but in my intervention I suggested the alliance should not be negative about the conference idea. I proposed that in our communiqué we note the useful negotiations currently under way,

indicate our satisfaction that some progress had been achieved and express the hope for further progress in the near future.

You will note that in the communiqué the member governments confirmed their readiness, as soon as talks on Berlin had reached a satisfactory conclusion, and in so far as other on-going talks were proceeding satisfactorily, to enter into multilateral talks to explore when it would be possible to convene a conference or series of conferences on security and co-operation in Europe.

The question of mutual and balanced force reductions is one NATO has been pursuing actively in recent years and is of particular interest to Canada. In Brussels the NATO ministers renewed their earlier invitation to interested states to hold exploratory talks on the possibility of negotiations on force reductions and indicated a readiness within this framework to examine different aspects of the question, including the idea of foreign force reductions which was publicly advanced by the Warsaw Pact countries last summer.

In the course of the foreign ministers' meeting, I expressed Canada's satisfaction with the results of the recent NATO-sponsored colloquium on oil spills, which recommended that the governments should work through IMCO to eliminate, by 1975 if possible, all intentional discharges of oil in the sea, as well as to minimize accidental spills. This could be a breakthrough in one area of maritime pollution, particularly since the undertaking involves countries representing a high proportion of the world's oil-carriers. It is an excellent example of NATO's ability to contribute in a practical way to the solution of problems of current concern to its members.

On the defence side, the decisions taken helped to place the respective roles of North America and Europe within the alliance on a more equitable basis and to ensure that, in the period of negotiation ahead, the alliance will be able to proceed with confidence.

### **Final Communiqué**

1. The North Atlantic Council met in ministerial session at Brussels on 3rd and 5th December, 1970. Foreign, defence and finance ministers were present.

2. Ministers again stated that the political purpose of the alliance is the common search for peace through initiatives aiming at the relaxation of tension and the establishment of a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe, accompanied by appropriate security guarantees.

3. The Council received a statement from President Nixon which pledged that, given a similar approach by the other allies, the United States would maintain and improve its own forces in Europe and would not reduce them except in the context of reciprocal East-West action. Ministers expressed

their profound satisfaction at the reaffirmation of alliance solidarity expressed in this statement.

4. Ministers reviewed the international situation as it had developed since their last meeting in May in Rome. They noted that 1970 had been a year of extensive diplomatic activity by member governments of the alliance to initiate or intensify contacts, discussions and negotiations with the members of the Warsaw Pact and with other European countries. Ministers paid particular attention to the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, the treaties negotiated by the Federal Republic of Germany with the Soviet Union and Poland, intra-German relations, Berlin and the situation in the Mediterranean.

5. Ministers welcomed the resumption at Helsinki in November of the negotiations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. on strategic arms limitations. They expressed the hope that the talks would lead, at an early date, to an agreement strengthening peace and security in Europe and in the world.

6. Ministers noted with satisfaction the signing of the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the U.S.S.R. on 12th August 1970, and the initialling of the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Polish People's Republic on 18th November 1970. They welcomed these treaties as contributions toward reduction of tensions in Europe and as important elements of the *modus vivendi* which the Federal Republic of Germany wishes to establish with its Eastern neighbours. Ministers noted the clarifications made in the context of the treaties, and reflected in the exchanges of notes between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Three Powers, to the effect that quadripartite rights and responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole remain unaffected pending a peace settlement which would be based on the free decision of the German people and on the interests of European security. Ministers welcomed the beginning of an exchange of views between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR and expressed the hope that this exchange will prepare the ground for genuine negotiations between the two. Ministers reviewed the development of the quadripartite talks in Berlin.

7. In considering the situation with regard to Berlin and Germany, ministers recalled their statement in the Brussels Declaration of 5th December 1969 (Paragraph 10) to the effect that concrete progress in both these fields would constitute an important contribution to peace and would have great weight in their evaluation of the prospects for improving East-West relations in Europe. Indeed, these prospects would be put in question failing a satisfactory outcome to the current Berlin negotiations. With this in mind, ministers stressed the importance of securing unhindered access to Berlin, improved circulation within Berlin and respect by all for the existing ties between the Western sectors of Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany which have been established with the approval of the Three Powers. They underlined



the need for an understanding between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR on a negotiated settlement of their mutual relations which would take account of the special features of the situation in Germany.

8. Ministers took note of a report on the situation in the Mediterranean prepared on their instructions by the Council in Permanent Session. They noted that the evolution of events in the area gives cause for concern and justifies careful vigilance on the part of the allies. They recommended that consultations on this question should continue, and they invited the Council in Permanent Session to keep the situation under review and to report fully thereon at their next meeting.

9. As a result of their review of the international situation and its positive and negative aspects, ministers emphasized that these developments in Europe and the Mediterranean all affect the alliance directly or indirectly, and have a bearing on the possibilities of reducing tensions and promoting peace.

10. Ministers noted that the initiatives which had been taken by allied governments had already achieved certain results which constituted some progress in important fields of East-West relations. Nevertheless their hope had been that more substantial progress would have been recorded in bilateral exploratory contacts and in the on-going negotiations, so that active consideration could have been given to the institution of broad multilateral contacts which would deal with the substantial problems of security and co-operation in Europe. They affirmed the readiness of their governments, as soon as the talks on Berlin have reached a satisfactory conclusion and in so far as the other on-going talks are proceeding favourably, to enter into multilateral contacts with all interested governments to explore when it would be possible to convene a conference, or a series of conferences, on security and co-operation in Europe. In this event, the Council would give immediate attention to this question.

11. In the meantime, the Council in Permanent Session will continue its study of the results which might be achieved at any such conference or series of conferences, and of the appropriate exploratory and preparatory procedures, including the proposals that have already been advanced. The allied governments will also pursue energetically their bilateral exploratory conversations with all interested states on questions affecting security and co-operation.

12. Ministers recalled that any genuine and lasting improvement in East-West relations in Europe must be based on the respect of the following principles which should govern relations between states and which would be included among the points to be explored: sovereign equality, political independence and territorial integrity of each European state; non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of any state, regardless of its political or social system; and the right of the people of each European state to shape their own destinies free of external constraint. A common understanding and application of these principles, without condition or reservation, would give full

meaning to any agreement on mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force.

13. In the field of international co-operation, the contacts mentioned in Paragraph 10 might provide an opportunity to consider ways and means of ensuring closer co-operation between interested countries on the cultural, economic, technical and scientific levels, and on the question of human environment. Ministers reaffirmed that the freer movement of people, ideas and information is an essential element for the development of such co-operation.

14. Ministers noted that alliance studies on the various aspects of the mutual and balanced force reductions question have further progressed since the Rome meeting and instructed the Council in Permanent Session to pursue studies in this field.

15. Ministers representing countries participating in NATO's integrated defence program re-emphasised the importance they attach to mutual and balanced force reductions as a means of reducing tensions and lessening the military confrontation in Europe and recalled the declarations on this question issued at Reykjavik in 1968 and at Rome earlier this year. They noted that the Warsaw Pact countries have not directly responded to these declarations but have mentioned the possibility of a discussion at some future time of the question of reducing foreign armed forces on the territory of European states.

16. These ministers renewed their invitation to interested states to hold exploratory talks on the basis of their Rome declaration, and also indicated their readiness within this framework to examine different possibilities in the field of force reductions in the Central Region of Europe, including the possible mutual and balanced reduction of stationed forces, as part of an integral program for the reduction of both stationed and indigenous forces.

17. Ministers reaffirmed their profound interest in genuine disarmament and arms-control measures. In this connection, they expressed their satisfaction with progress towards a ban on the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the seabed. They further considered the pursuit of allied efforts and studies in all fields related to disarmament to be essential, including those concerning biological and chemical weapons. They invited the Council in Permanent Session to continue to examine these matters.

18. Ministers endorsed the recent Council recommendation to allied governments to start work at once in order to achieve, by 1975 if possible but not later than the end of the decade, the elimination of intentional discharges of oil and oily wastes into the sea. This and the other accomplishments of the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society during the past year were welcomed by ministers as evidence that the allies are effectively combining their resources to stimulate national and international action on environmental problems.

19. Ministers examined a report on the achievements of the Conference



of National Armaments Directors and its subordinate bodies in the promotion of co-operation in research, development and production of military equipment during the four years of its existence. They noted that, in spite of the excellent progress that had been made in the exchange of information on defence equipment, it had proved possible to establish relatively few firm NATO projects for co-operative development and production of equipment. They recognized that more political support would be necessary to overcome the obstacles to greater co-operation. They agreed to the need for a more positive approach in order to achieve the financial and operational benefits of more widespread adoption of jointly developed and produced equipment.

20. Ministers of the countries participating in NATO's integrated defence program met as the Defence Planning Committee on 2nd December 1970.

21. Ministers concentrated their discussion on a comprehensive study, which has been in progress since last May, of the defence problems which the alliance will face in the 1970s . . . .

22. Ministers confirmed that NATO's approach to security in the 1970s will continue to be based on the twin concepts of defence and *détente*. They reaffirmed the principle that the overall military capability of NATO should not be reduced except as part of a pattern of mutual force reductions balanced in scope and timing. They agreed that East-West negotiations can be expected to succeed only if NATO maintains an effective deterrent and defensive posture. Ministers confirmed the continued validity of the NATO strategy of flexibility in response, which includes forward defence, reinforcement of the flanks and capabilities for rapid mobilization, and calls for the maintenance of military capabilities which are able to provide an appropriate counter to any aggression. They noted the continuous rise in Soviet defence and defence-related expenditure and the evidence that the U.S.S.R. is continuing to strengthen still further its military establishment, including that in the maritime field, where Soviet power and the range of its activity have markedly increased. They therefore emphasised the need for improvements in NATO's conventional deterrent, as well as the maintenance of a sufficient and modern tactical and strategic nuclear deterrent.

23. The security of NATO being indivisible, ministers underlined the special military and political role of North American forces present in Europe as an irreplaceable contribution to the common defence. In parallel, they welcomed the important decision of European member nations participating in NATO's integrated defence program to make an increased common European effort to strengthen the defence capability of the alliance. The establishment of a special European Defence Improvement Program of substantial additional measures will significantly strengthen NATO's capacity for defence and for crisis management in fields, including communications, which have been identified in the "AD 70s" study as having particular importance.



24. In respect of the above study, ministers invited the Defence Planning Committee in Permanent Session to draw up a suitable program and to ensure that all possible progress is made.

25. Ministers noted the force commitments undertaken by member nations for the year 1971 and adopted the five-year NATO force plan covering the period 1971-1975. They gave directions for the development of a force plan for the next NATO planning period.

26. Ministers viewed with concern the evidence of continuing growth in Soviet military strength in the Mediterranean. Such developments, they felt, could constitute an increasingly significant threat to the security of the alliance. Ministers commented with approval on steps which have been taken to improve the alliance's defence posture in the Mediterranean. Referring to their communiqué issued in Brussels on 11th June of this year, ministers directed that urgent attention be given to the development and implementation of further appropriate measures.

27. Within the field of crisis management, ministers reviewed communications facilities for high-level political consultation and for command and control; they agreed to a number of important measures designed to improve and expand these vital facilities. They encouraged further efforts in the field of civil preparedness and civil emergency planning. They noted progress made on various defence studies. They also noted that the trend towards more sophisticated equipment at increasing cost may well continue, and they stressed that forthcoming modernisation programs would offer an opportunity for increased co-operation.

28. The ministerial meeting also provided the defence ministers comprising the Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee (Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey and the United States) with the occasion to review work recently in progress in the Nuclear Planning Group and plans for the future. Acting on the recommendation of the Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee, the Defence Planning Committee adopted the policy documents elaborated by the Nuclear Planning Group at their meeting in Venice last spring and finalized at Ottawa in October this year. These documents are in consonance with NATO's strategy of flexibility in response.

29. The next ministerial meeting of the Defence Planning Committee will take place in the spring of 1971.

30. The spring ministerial meeting of the Council will be held in Lisbon on 3rd and 4th June 1971.

31. Ministers requested the Foreign Minister of Belgium to transmit this communiqué on their behalf through diplomatic channels to all other interested parties including neutral and non-aligned governments.

# *External Affairs Faces the Environmental Question*

THE Scientific Relations and Environmental Problems Division of the Department of External Affairs was established in February 1970 as a reflection of the increasing importance of science and technology and environmental problems in the conduct of international relations. The creation of this Division has permitted the Department to meet new responsibilities and to concentrate existing activities in one centre. The significance of the Division's work was stressed in the policy statement *Foreign Policy for Canadians*, which cited "quality of life" and the attainment of a "harmonious natural environment" as among the national goals to be pursued in foreign policy.

The principal responsibilities of the Division are (a) the conduct of scientific relations abroad, including the negotiation of agreements; (b) departmental liaison with departments and agencies having responsibility of a scientific nature; (c) matters relating to international aspects of the human environment; (d) an advisory role on scientific and technical questions with foreign policy implications; (e) arrangements for official scientific representation abroad. In maintaining liaison with other departments and agencies, the Division has been dealing with the following major subjects: environmental matters arising from United Nations activities, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; co-operative efforts with the United States to eliminate pollution in the Great Lakes; Arctic research co-operation; and international aspects of outer space activity.

## **Ecological Legislation**

The commitment of the Canadian Government to preserve and improve the human environment has thus involved the Department in several relatively new functions and responsibilities. This springs in part from the enactment of important new legislation, such as the Canada Water Act and the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, which have given rise to much international interest and debate. The Division has been involved in Canadian responses to this interest.

It is also expected that the creation of the new Department of the Environment will tend to sharpen the focus in a general way regarding Canadian participation in international environmental activities. More specifically, the Division has been active in Canadian participation in the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Stockholm in 1972, and has assumed responsibility, through an interdepartmental committee, for co-ordinating the Canadian contributions, including those from the provincial governments and private organizations. In November, Mr. Maurice Strong, form-

erly President of the Canadian International Development Agency, was appointed Secretary-General of the Conference.

In the OECD, the establishment of the new Environment Committee, concerned with economic aspects of environment control, stresses the multi-disciplinary approach, and it is hoped that constructive results will be obtained from the interactions between scientists and economists. This approach obtained strong Canadian endorsement at the first meeting of the Environment Committee in November. In the NATO-CCMS Canada is participating in bilateral projects concerned with the prevention and control of inland and maritime water pollution. Within this framework, Canada is managing a pilot study of the Saint John River basin in New Brunswick.

### **Arctic and Great Lakes Pollution**

The Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act drew attention to the determination of the Canadian Government to preserve the ecological balance in the Arctic. Though not directly concerned with the legal aspects of this question, the Division has been involved in exploring mechanisms to facilitate international consideration of Arctic scientific problems.

Pollution in the Great Lakes has attracted as much public attention, as well as government activity at various levels, as any other pollution problem in Canada. Acting on the recommendations of a special report of the International Joint Commission, the Division has co-operated with the United States Division of External Affairs and with other departments in preparing a series of meetings with U.S. officials in efforts to find agreement on co-operative programs to clean up the Great Lakes.

Interest in developing beneficial co-operative arrangements with other countries in science and technology led to the decision to send a scientific and technology mission to Belgium in June. In view of the success of this venture, further missions to other countries are being considered.

### **Canada-U.S. Co-operation**

Canada has entered into a number of co-operative agreements with the United States for the purpose of developing useful applications of space technology. These range from U.S. use of the research range at Churchill, Manitoba, to the development of an advanced communication-technology satellite in Canada and co-operation in the "earth resource" satellite program. Possible Canadian participation in the "post-Apollo" manned space program continues under intensive study. Most of Canada's efforts in space programs have been directed to bilateral ventures with the National Aeronautical and Space Administration of the United States. However, the internationalization of space activity has not been neglected. Opportunities for multilateral co-operation in space activities have been explored through the attendance of Canadian observers at meetings of the European Space Conference.



# *Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean*

SPECIAL MISSION BY SENATOR MARTIN

**D**URING the course of 1970, against a background of apparent misunderstanding in the Commonwealth Caribbean of certain Canadian policies towards that area, the Canadian Government decided it would be useful and appropriate to despatch a special mission to the region to discuss a broad range of items of mutual interest. Senator the Honourable Paul Martin was asked by the Government to undertake this important task, which it viewed as an opportunity to promote a dialogue with the governments and leaders of the region. Accordingly, in September and October, Senator Martin visited 13 countries and territories of the Caribbean.



*On his arrival in Jamaica, Senator Martin is welcomed by the Honourable Robert Lightbourne, Jamaican Minister of Trade and Industry.*

On his return he reported that relations between Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean remained basically good and that he had found no evidence in the area of a deterioration of goodwill towards Canada. Problems had, of course, existed and would undoubtedly continue to exist. Canadian relations with the area cover a complex series of activities, and each country in it has its own marked characteristics and preoccupations. The intent of Government decisions on the basis of Senator Martin's report is to take steps to help the Commonwealth Caribbean countries solve their economic problems, to confirm or modify existing Canadian policies towards the region, and to strengthen machinery for the carrying out of Government policies.

Among the recommendations in Senator Martin's report that have been approved by the Government is the extension, for the calendar year 1971, of the current rebates system of paying to Commonwealth Caribbean countries the amounts of duty collected on sugar imported from them. This decision will be reviewed at such time as the Government considers the Tariff Board Report on Sugar expected in 1971. With the introduction of an International Sugar Agreement in 1969 it had been the opinion of the Canadian Government that the sugar-rebate payments might be drawn to a termination. In the light of representations from the region, however, about the difficulties their sugar industry was facing and the need for a longer period of adjustment, the Canadian Government decided earlier this year to continue the payments for 1970. The current decision extends the period to 1971, during the course of which year Government decisions will need to be taken on the Tariff Board Report on Sugar.

These sugar payments are separate from, and additional to, the proposed \$5-million agricultural development fund the Canadian Government has decided to launch at once. Earlier misunderstandings about the fund were cleared up during Senator Martin's mission to the area, and it was given a very favourable reception. It has been agreed that the fund will be substantially untied, on liberal terms, and replenishable. Details remain to be worked out with the eligible recipient countries about the criteria for selecting projects and the operational structure, but it is the intention of the Canadian Government to move ahead rapidly with its implementation. The Canadian Government proposes to explore the use of regional institutions in the implementation of the fund, but in the meantime is open to applications for projects from the eligible governments.

Other matters considered by the Canadian Government included the encouragement of responsible investment through programs currently administered by the Canadian International Development Agency and the Export Development Corporation, the maintenance of Canada's non-discriminatory immigration policy, the resolution of bilateral trading problems, the desire of the area to export more to Canada, the need to improve the administration of Canada's substantial development assistance program for the area, the possibility of closer co-operation in a number of fields, and the means of strengthening the co-ordination of policies in Canada.





*Senator Martin (right) strolls in the company of Premier Price of British Honduras.*

On December 8, Senator Martin made a comprehensive statement to the Senate of Canada that provides further background to the current Government decisions. Some excerpts follow:

"I found no evidence of any serious deterioration in our relations. It was a subject I asked about everywhere I went. The responses were overwhelmingly warm and not merely perfunctory. Personally I was extended what can only be considered great courtesy. In every country I was met on arrival by a senior minister, and frequently by the head of government. In every case the key figures of government took off a great deal of time to spend with me in both formal and informal meetings. Touching and sincere words of greeting were expressed to me, not in my personal capacity but as a representative of the Canadian Government and the people of Canada. The tone of every working session with governments was cordial, intimate and, I believe, frank. Certainly, the receptions given to me by governments demonstrated in very clear terms the great fund of goodwill which they have towards Canada.

\* \* \*

"I do not wish to imply that there are not problems between Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean, that new problems will not grow, or that the governments in the area to whom I spoke overlooked them. On the contrary,



I found concern about them and a mature appreciation of them. A large number of bilateral problems were raised with me of a political, commercial, aid, and other nature. It would be clearly inappropriate for Canada to try to meet every demand from the area, as it would be for us to expect the governments there could meet every one of our requests. I generally went on to indicate my view, however, that it was not the presence of inevitable problems which determined whether or not relations were good between any two countries but rather the willingness on both sides to recognize the validity of each other's views and the desire to resolve those problems quietly in a spirit of co-operation.

"The was no question but that this feeling was reciprocated. Most leaders were prepared to admit that there had been a period earlier this year, in the spring and early summer, when a number of unfortunate circumstances had come together to create some problems. One of these was obviously the Sir George Williams University incident. Even at senior levels of government, I found that some misunderstanding still persisted, such as, for example, why ten Trinidadian students had been tried first, the fact that a larger number of Canadian students had faced charges, and the nature of the court procedures involved. I think I was able to explain successfully some of the facts and the necessarily limited role of the Canadian Government, and indicate the lack of any racial prejudice in Canadian policies, including our immigration policies. The governments welcomed, and in some cases seemed relieved by, the explanations I was able to give.

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"Obviously, a number of points of view were put to me by leaders in the Commonwealth Caribbean, ranging from those who had originally understood that the sugar-rebate payments would be ended when a new international sugar agreement came into being to those who believed that the original Canadian offer made by the Government of Mr. Pearson in 1966 was open-ended and not subject to termination. By extending the rebates for the current year and by going through the process of consultation in which I have been involved, I am confident that a much better setting has been achieved for resolving this issue in a spirit of understanding on both sides.

"A further contributing element to some of the misunderstandings earlier this year was a feeling of questioning in the Commonwealth Caribbean about the degree of interest Canada still had in the area. They were conscious that in Canada we have been re-examining the basic tenets of our foreign policy, and attempting to reappraise our relations with other areas such as Latin America or the Pacific Rim. I think I was able to explain that there was no diminution of Canadian interest in the region and, on the contrary, a heightened interest caused by a large number of factors such as our traditional and historical ties, geographic proximity, growing Canadian investment, our trading relations, increasing Canadian tourism, the growing numbers of first-rate West Indian immigrants coming to Canada, our expanding Canadian aid programs in the Commonwealth Caribbean, our new participation in the Caribbean Development Bank and many other factors.

I think, as well, that the mere fact of the visit, and its demonstration that the Canadian Government was seriously interested in listening to any points of view which local leaders wanted to raise, did much to dispel some of the unfounded suspicions I have described.

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"There had obviously been misunderstandings in the Commonwealth Caribbean about the Canadian offer of a \$5-million agricultural development fund. Critical things had been said about it earlier in the year. However, when I explained that the Canadian offer should be judged on its own merits, that it was independent of the sugar-rebates issue, that the fund was replenishable and could be substantially untied, and that it represented a genuine attempt by the Canadian Government to offer help of a generous kind in a sector to which the Commonwealth Caribbean attached high priority, the reception of the Canadian proposal quickly became enthusiastic, and that is the reception that I now note. All governments welcomed the idea of an agricultural development fund, and this of course was presaged in the Senate Committee report . . .

". . . I did not meet a single government in the Commonwealth Caribbean which did not want more private Canadian investment in its country.

"In asking for more Canadian investment, however, most governments also raised the issue of local policy guidelines. These are more advanced in some countries than in others. Much of the Commonwealth Caribbean is going through the same sort of soul-searching examination that has been taking place in Canada on the question of how much control can or should be effected on foreign investment in key sectors. Many would like to see some form of local participation in most investment. Lack of local resources or the type of investment may not make this possible in all cases. What all governments are seeking, however, is some means of ensuring that foreign capital is used to promote the development of the country and the welfare of its people within the framework of national policies. They recognize that foreign investment is a means of importing needed skills and expertise, as well as capital, but they also want local peoples to be trained in these skills and to be employed in these industries.

"Looking to the future, I can foresee more strict conditions under which new Canadian investment will be welcome in the area and increasing pressures on existing Canadian investment to conform to local policies. Responsible investment is, however, wanted in the area and, from what I was told by governments, they are fully aware that the Canadian investor must be allowed to operate profitably at the same time as being expected to conform to local policies.

"From what I have said, I think it is clear that I personally have no reservations about the closeness of our present relations with the Commonwealth Caribbean. My judgment is that these will continue. Time and time again I heard local leaders say that they liked dealing with Canada, in part because of our long historical association, in part because we treated them as equals, in part because we had no pretensions of imperialism or domination, in part

because of similar traditions of law and government, in part because of strong personal connections. From prime ministers to taxi drivers, all seemed to have been to Canada, to have a relative in Canada, to want to go to Canada, or to have just received a letter from a friend in Canada. And the Caribbean leaders still look to Canada for friendship and help, perhaps now more than ever in the past.

\* \* \*

"In the context of trade, the sugar question is much broader than simply the rebates issue which I mentioned earlier, and it affects most of the countries in the Commonwealth Caribbean, with the exception of some of the smaller islands. Their basic grievance is that the price Canada pays them for their sugar is less than their cost of production. While they accept the fact that greater efficiencies are required in their production techniques, to bring their costs more in line with the world free price of sugar, they also argue that a number of particular circumstances apply to them, such as lack of domestic market, lack of resources to subsidize production and relatively high labour costs, which mean that the West Indies must obtain higher prices for their sugar exports if they are to survive as sugar producers. In this light, the West Indies contrasted unfavourably the price which Canada pays for their sugar to the higher prices paid by the United Kingdom and the United States.

"On the Canadian side, I said frankly that there was simply no chance of our entering into a bilateral agreement based on a cost-plus price for sugar. I pointed out the difficulties for Canada of attempting to introduce state trading machinery, which would be involved under such a bilateral agreement, and described our policy of working towards a sugar price remunerative to producers and equitable for consumers under the International Sugar Agreement, which was concluded in 1969, with the active participation of countries like Canada. Since the introduction of the International Sugar Agreement in 1969, the world free price for sugar has more than doubled, and certainly my hope would be that the ISA will continue to operate as a basic mechanism under which we will import our sugar requirements.

\* \* \*

"With respect to Canadian assistance, I found a great appreciation of the considerable volume of aid Canada was making available, which is the highest *per capita* amount we give to any area of the world. The countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean are, however, impatient, and naturally so, to get on with their development as rapidly as possible. Their appreciation for Canadian aid was therefore often coupled with criticism, generally helpful criticism, about what they regarded as some of the limitations of our program. The Senate committee report mentions some of these — the tying of assistance to Canadian goods and services, the limitations on the financing of local costs, and the relatively small start we have made on program assistance. Some of these things are necessary under the Canadian program but I was able to point



out the new, more flexible guidelines adopted under the foreign policy review, which will make it possible for Canada to meet some of their concerns.

"I know as well that CIDA is examining very carefully possible means of improving the administration of our aid program; and I am confident not only that our aid program has been a legitimate source of pride to us but will be more so in the future, as we adapt it to meet local needs more effectively. The agricultural development fund, for example, which I mentioned earlier, will be substantially untied and will enable us to respond to requests for assistance in the agricultural sector to which we would not have been able to reply positively in the past.

"Politically, these countries will want to work out their own destinies, either independently or on some regional basis, without outside interference. The Senate Committee report refers to the 'possibility of constitutional links between Canada and countries of the Caribbean area'.

"In all of my discussions during the tour, there was only one leader who raised this possibility, and even this comment was tempered by qualification. There was certainly no indication of general interest in it, and I am quite sure that the emphasis within the region is presently in directions other than towards constitutional links with Canada. The view of the Canadian Government remains that it is up to the region to take its own decisions about its political future. This is the attitude that we take. It is understandable that this is the attitude that we should understand exists not only on the part of sovereign governments in the area but also on the part of associate states.

\* \* \*

"In speaking of the Commonwealth Caribbean I have not meant to imply that it can be considered as a homogeneous unit. In looking back over my tour, one of my most striking impressions is the differences which exist. The topographies, economies and stages of development vary widely. Clearly they must work out their own political destiny; and they are doing so, both on a national basis and through closer forms of regional co-operation, as witnessed by such institutions as CARIFTA, the Caribbean Development Bank, WIAS, and other forms. On our part, we must obviously judge our own national interests and national priorities. I am only suggesting that there exist, in fact, special connections with the Commonwealth Caribbean, which means we should treat the area under our foreign policy with particular care, and which, in our own enlightened interest, we should preserve and promote."

# *International Development Research Centre*

ON January 12, 1970, in moving the second reading of the bill to establish the International Development Research Centre, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, stated that the Government would provide at least \$30 million for the Centre's first five years of operation. He described the measure as "one of the most promising and exciting proposals that the House of Commons had considered for some time". "This," he declared, "can be a new and dynamic element to improve the quality of life in the less-privileged areas of the world."<sup>(1)</sup>

The Act to establish the IDRC was passed by Parliament in May 1970, after two years of study, planning and consultation with specialists in world development. The first meeting of the Board of Governors from October 26 to 28, under the chairmanship of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, approved bylaws and terms of reference and named an executive committee of seven.

The Centre, a Crown Corporation located in Ottawa, which will report to Parliament through the Secretary of State for External Affairs, hopes to improve the nature, quality and direction of development programs, thereby contributing to the global struggle to improve the quality of life, by marshalling the powers of modern science and technology. It will provide the opportunity for Canada and other countries to have access to international experts in several disciplines against the fundamental problems of underdevelopment.

## **IDRC Aims**

The purposes of the IDRC, as quoted in the Act, are:

To initiate, encourage, support and conduct research into the problems of the developing regions of the world and into the means for applying and adapting scientific, technical and other knowledge to the economic and social advancement of those regions, and, in carrying out those objects

- (a) to enlist the talents of natural and social scientists and technologists of Canada and other countries;
- (b) to assist the developing regions to build up the research capabilities, and innovative skills and the institutions required to solve their problems;
- (c) to encourage generally the co-ordination of international development research; and
- (d) to foster co-operation in research on development problems between the developed and developing regions for their mutual benefit.

## **Governing Board**

The Board of Governors is composed of 11 Canadians: the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Chairman; Dr. W. D. Hopper, President and Chief Executive Officer; Mr. John G. Bene, President of Weldwood of Canada, Vancouver, formerly an adviser on forestry to the Canadian International Development Agency; Dr. C. F. Bentley, Professor of Soil Sciences, University of Alberta; Dr. Louis

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(1) For text of the Minister's statement see the February 1970 issue of *External Affairs*, P. 45.



*The Board of Governors of the International Research Development Centre (left to right, seated): Sir John Crawford, Mr. A. L. Dias, Miss Lila Engberg, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Lady Barbara Ward Jackson, Dr. Puey Ungphakorn, Dr. C. F. Bentley. (Left to right, standing): Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre, Mr. R. M. Nettleford, Professor Irving Brecher, Dr. H. A. Oluwasanmi, Dr. W. D. Hopper, Mr. Pierre Bauchet, Mr. Roberto Campos, Mr. Ralph M. Medjuck and Mr. John G. Bene. (Absent when the photo was taken were Dr. Louis Berlinguet, Professor René Dubos, Professor Marc Sankale, Mr. Maurice Strong and Mr. Paul Gérin-Lajoie.)*

Berlinguet, Vice-President, Research, University of Quebec; Professor Irving Brecher, Director, Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University; Miss Lila Engberg, Home Economist, Guelph University; Mr. Ralph M. Medjuck, lawyer and developer; Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre, Principal, Scarborough College, University of Toronto; Mr. Maurice F. Strong, Secretary-General of the 1972 UN Conference on Human Environment; Mr. Paul Gérin-Lajoie, President, Canadian International Development Agency, and ten non-Canadians (Mr. Pierre Bauchet, Professor and Scientific Director, National Centre for Scientific Research, France; Mr. Roberto Campos, Brazilian economist and diplomat; Sir John Crawford, Vice-Chancellor, Australian National University, Canberra; Mr. A. L. Dias, Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Tripura, India; Professor René Dubos, Professor of Microbiology, Rockefeller University, New York; Lady Barbara Ward Jackson, British economist; Mr. R. M. Nettleford, Director of Studies, Trade Union Education Institute, University of the West Indies, Jamaica; Dr. H. A. Oluwasanmi, Vice-Chancellor, University of Ife, Western State, Nigeria; Professor Marc Sankale, Dean, Faculty of Medicine, University of Dakar, Senegal; Dr. Puey Ungphakorn, Dean of Economics, Thomassat University, and Governor of the Central Bank, Thailand).

The administrative staff at the Centre is small and provides the best possible environment for creative support to the "problem-oriented", multi-disciplinary programs.



## **Areas of Research**

Although the Centre's interest and priorities must be decided by its Board of Governors, research areas suggested by the Canadian International Development Agency and the United Nations Advisory Committee include: the development of new techniques for identifying and evaluating mineral resources; the development of genetically superior plants of high-protein value; the study of some specific aspects of the world population problem; and the development of efficient labour-intensive industrial techniques and machines. The Centre will concentrate on problems such as these through a unique multi-disciplinary approach.

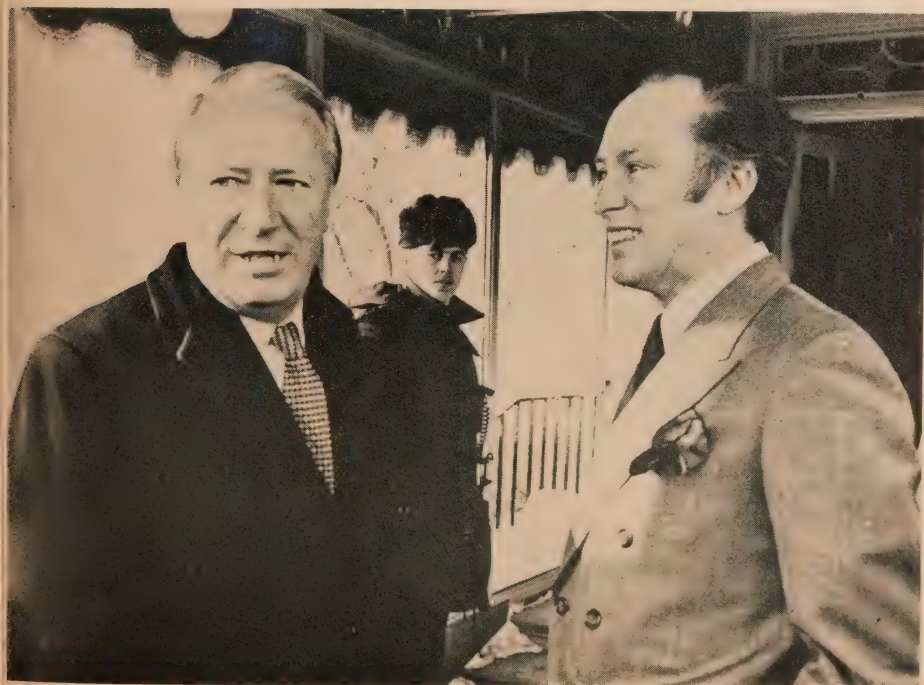
After the October Board meeting, Mr. Pearson called the Centre "a unique international institution". He said that the three-day meeting had discussed a number of proposals for forthcoming programs, mainly from other than governmental sources.

Dr. Hopper stated that one of the proposals being seriously considered was "continued investigation of the new grain, triticale, which is being developed by the University of Manitoba, on the basis of early experiments in Mexico on crossing wheat and rye". When a decision was made on this project, Dr. Hopper said, research would be continued at the University of Manitoba and the results would be made available to less-developed countries and to international organizations.

## *Visit of the Prime Minister of Britain*

**T**HE Right Honourable Edward Heath, Prime Minister of Britain, visited Ottawa briefly on December 16 to meet with Prime Minister Trudeau and discuss questions of mutual concern and interest in both the bilateral and international fields.

Mr. Heath arrived on his first visit to Canada as Prime Minister very early in the morning of December 16 at Canadian Forces Base Uplands on board a Royal Air Force VC-10. He was welcomed by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs. There was a minimum of ceremony before Mr. Heath left for Government House, where he was the overnight guest of the Governor-General of Canada and Mrs. Roland Michener. Next morning, Prime Minister Heath was received by the Governor-General, following which he went to the home of the Canadian Prime Minister for discussions with Mr. Trudeau at which a limited number of officials were present. Shortly after noon, these discussions were broadened to include the Secretary of State for External Affairs and senior British and Canadian officials, and continued through a working lunch given by Mr. Trudeau. During the morning, there were also opportunities for British and Canadian officials to meet separately for an exchange of views.



*Prime Minister Edward Heath of Britain (left) chats with Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau at the latter's residence in Ottawa.*

During the course of their meetings, the two Prime Ministers and their officials reviewed a range of issues, including the question of possible British arms sales to South Africa, the future of the Commonwealth, the Singapore Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference, and Common Market enlargement and the considerations it poses for both Britain and Canada, as well as several other topics.

After lunch, Prime Minister Heath visited the Parliament Buildings, where he was met by the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Russell Honey, M.P., and escorted to the Speaker's Gallery of the House of Commons. There the Speaker, the Honourable Lucien Lamoureux, introduced him to the Members of the House. After a visit to the offices of the British High Commission, Prime Minister Heath gave a news conference in the National Press Building, following which he visited the lounge of the National Press Club to meet informally with some of the members. At the end of the afternoon, Mr. Heath bid farewell to Mr. Sharp at the Uplands airport and boarded the aircraft that had brought him to Ottawa for the flight to Washington.



# *Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations*

CANADA was from 1964 to 1970 one of the 31 members of the United Nations Committee on the International Law Principles of Friendly Relations, which completed, at its last session in April 1970, the drafting of a declaration elaborating the following principles of international law:

- (a) The principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN;
- (b) the principle that states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered;
- (c) the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the Charter;
- (d) the principle of sovereign equality of states;
- (e) the duty of states to co-operate with one another in accordance with the Charter;
- (f) the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
- (g) the principle that states shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

## **Origin of Principles**

This item originated at the sixteenth session in 1961 of the United Nations General Assembly as a result of a Soviet initiative, supported by a number of non-aligned states, to codify the "principles of peaceful co-existence". At the seventeenth session, the West resisted this initiative and, led by Canada, called instead for an elaboration of seven fundamental UN Charter principles with a view to strengthening the international rule of law.

By 1968, agreement had been reached on Principles (b), (d), (e) and (g). Therefore the efforts of the Committee at its 1969 and 1970 sessions were directed to the task of reaching acceptable texts for the more politically sensitive principles of the non-use of force, non-intervention and the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. Formulations of these remaining three principles were agreed upon at the fifth session of the Committee in 1970, mainly as a result of important compromises made by many delegations, and the draft declaration was approved *ad referendum* to governments by the UN Committee on May 2, 1970. The Canadian delegation at this last session of the Committee was instrumental in ensuring that there was no reference in the declaration to the applicability of its provisions to the high seas or the seabed and sub-soil thereof, since these were matters being dealt with in detail by other UN committees. The Canadian delegation was also instrumental in obtaining the inclusion of a paragraph in the Principle of Self-determination that reads as follows:

Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs shall be construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity, or political unity of sovereign and independent States conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as described above and thus possessed of a government representing the whole people belonging to the territory without distinction as to race, creed or colour.

The report of the Special Committee on its fifth session contained the text of the declaration and recommended its adoption by the General Assembly. The report was considered by the Sixth Committee at the General Assembly's twenty-fifth session. Debate in the Sixth Committee was governed by the fact that the draft declaration had been adopted unanimously in the Special Committee, which had a balanced representation of the various groups of member states of the United Nations. Most delegates spoke in favour of the declaration but, because the text agreed upon had been reached as a result of a number of compromises on individual provisions, many wished to record both the provisions they viewed as compromises and the interpretations they placed on these and other individual provisions.

On October 24, 1970, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Sixth Committee, unanimously adopted the declaration as one of the documents for its commemorative session on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

*(This is the sixth in a series of articles appearing monthly in External Affairs, dealing with the work of the Legal Division of the Department of External Affairs.)*

# *Palestine Relief Operation Crisis*

THE United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees, established in 1949, is at present encountering considerable financial difficulty. In his annual report, the Commissioner-General of UNRWA indicated that the Agency would be facing in 1970 a deficit estimated at about \$5 million and that there was grave danger that the deficit problem would intensify in 1971.

Since its inception, the Agency has been financed almost entirely from voluntary contributions from UN member states. Canada has usually ranked high among regular contributors to the Agency, which provides subsistence, medical care, shelter, education and training for Palestinian refugees. For 1971, Canada has pledged a regular contribution to UNRWA's budget of \$1.35 million, consisting of \$650,000 (Canadian) in cash and of \$700,000 in Canadian food commodities. This represents an increase of \$150,000 over last year's pledge and reflects the Canadian Government's "continuing concern that the invaluable efforts of the Agency to relieve the plight of the Palestine refugees should be sustained".

## **Canadian Statement**

During November, the Special Political Committee of the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly considered an item on UNRWA and the following statement was made in the Committee by Mr. D. C. Reece, Minister and Deputy Permanent Representative of Canada:

"The Canadian delegation has been pleased to note the constructive and practical tone of many previous speeches on this item. My delegation wishes to join other delegations in expressing its strong appreciation and admiration for the difficult task accomplished by the Commissioner-General of UNRWA and his staff during the past year. Their dedication and tireless efforts are in the best tradition of the work undertaken by the United Nations to help relieve human suffering and provide some hope for the future to the innocent victims of war and conflict. The important and constructive role played by UNRWA during the recent civil strife in Jordan is evidence of the agency's vitality, and of its ability and willingness to meet new challenges.

"Mr. Chairman, when one reflects upon the Agency's history of achievement and distinguished service, it is especially distressing to note the financial difficulties now facing UNRWA. The Canadian delegation has read with deep concern the latest annual report of the Commissioner-General, in which he forthrightly explains the predicament in which the Agency now finds itself. In the absence of significantly increased financial contributions to the UNRWA budget, the Agency will be obliged to curtail vital services. As the Commissioner-General points out, the type of retrenchment which he is forced to envisage 'would deal a grievous blow at the most constructive part of the Agency's activities and the only one to go beyond mere relief and look towards the future of the Palestine refugee youth'.



### **UNRWA Victim of Misunderstanding**

"It seems to us that the present unfortunate situation confronting UNRWA is the result of incomplete understanding on the part of many states of the vital role played by the Agency. UNRWA cannot, of course, resolve the Palestinian refugee problem, nor was it ever intended to approach that responsibility. The Canadian Government has long been of the opinion that a solution to the refugee problem can come about only as part of an overall peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli dispute. Unhappily no such settlement has yet been achieved. In the absence of a comprehensive peace settlement, UNRWA has a vital role to mitigate the suffering of the Palestinian people. In this respect, its operations are of political as well as humanitarian significance. By providing for some of the basic needs of the refugees, UNRWA assists in maintaining a measure of political stability which is an essential component of an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of peace.

"The Canadian delegation considers that all member states of the United Nations should pay particular heed to the sense of urgency communicated by the Commissioner-General's report; 1971 will indeed be a 'make or break' year for UNRWA. Now, more than ever, the Agency desperately needs the financial support of member states. We therefore urge all member states, and especially those which have not until now contributed to UNRWA, to reassess their ability to play a part in ensuring that the Agency is enabled to continue to provide for the immediate needs of the refugees.

"It would be most unfortunate if the work of UNRWA were to be jeopardized at a time when there appears to exist some prospect for movement toward a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute. The ceasefire which now prevails, and indications that it may soon be possible for peace talks to be resumed under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring, are encouraging signs. A concerted effort by member states to help UNRWA overcome its current problems would in itself be an expression of faith on the part of the United Nations that peace with justice can be achieved in the Middle-East."

## CONFERENCES

- UNDP Governing Council : New York, January 1971.
- Commonwealth Law Ministers' Conference : New Delhi, January 6-13.
- Conférence des Ministres de la Fonction publique des pays entièrement ou partiellement de langue française : Lomé, Togo, January 20-24. (Conference of the Public Service Ministers of Entirely or Partly French-speaking Countries : Lomé, Togo, January 20-24.)
- Conférence des Ministres de l'Education nationale des pays africains et malgache : Bangui, République centrafricaine, January 25-28. (Conference of the Ministers of National Education of African countries and Madagascar : Bangui, Central African Republic, January 25-28.)
- Fifth Commonwealth Educational Conference : Canberra, February 3-17.
- Commission on Human Rights : New York, February 22-26.
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board : Geneva, March 1-5.
- Commission for Social Development : Geneva, March 1-19.
- WMO Sixth World Meteorological Congress : Geneva, April 5-30.
- UNICEF Executive Board : New York, April 15-30.
- Economic Commission for Europe : Geneva, April 19-30.
- ECOSOC fiftieth session : New York, April 26 - May 21.
- World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing : Vancouver, July 5-16.
- International Federation for Information Processing, fifth congress : Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, August 23-28.

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Mr. A. R. Menzies, High Commissioner for Canada in Australia, accredited concurrently High Commissioner for Canada in Fiji, effective October 10, 1970.
- Mr. A. P. Bissonnet, Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, effective October 21, 1970.
- Mr. R. Johnson joined the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective November 2, 1970.
- Miss C. E. J. Strang appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 2, effective November 2, 1970.
- Mr. D. R. MacPhee joined the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective November 2, 1970.
- Mr. D. S. McPhail, Canadian Ambassador to Venezuela, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, effective November 4, 1970.
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth, Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to the Malagasy Republic, effective November 5, 1970.
- Mr. H. F. B. Feaver, Canadian Ambassador to Greece, retired from the Public Service, effective November 9, 1970.
- Mr. K. C. Brown appointed Canadian Ambassador to Cuba, effective November 13, 1970.
- Miss M. A. Cowling, posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Singapore, to Ottawa, effective November 13, 1970.
- Mr. A. S. McGill, High Commissioner for Canada in Nigeria, accredited concurrently High Commissioner for Canada in Sierra Leone, effective November 13, 1970.
- Mr. J. C. Mercier transferred from the Department of External Affairs to the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective November 16, 1970.
- Mr. D. J. French posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective November 18, 1970.
- Mr. J. J. Noble posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, to Ottawa, effective November 19, 1970.
- Mr. J. C. J. A. Tremblay transferred from the Department of External Affairs to the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective November 20, 1970.
- Miss S. J. McAuley, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective November 21, 1970.
- Mr. D. B. Hicks, Canadian Ambassador to Ghana, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Dahomey, effective November 21, 1970.
- Mr. P. E. J. Charpentier, Canadian Ambassador to Peru, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Bolivia, effective November 24, 1970.
- Mr. S. A. Freifeld, Canadian Ambassador to Colombia accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Ecuador, effective November 26, 1970.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *United Nations General Assembly*

## REVIEW OF TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

**T**HOUGH the United Nations system remains the most ambitious experiment yet made to reconcile the political, economic, social and cultural differences that have so often prevented member nations from working together constructively for common ends, it continues to be an accurate reflection of a highly imperfect world in which the business of "harmonizing the actions" of nations is conspicuously difficult. In his address opening the twenty-fifth anniversary commemorative session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, drew attention to the broad crisis of confidence in the United Nations that had begun to develop, with peoples and governments everywhere questioning the relevance and the sense of purpose of this experiment in world co-operation. He reminded the Assembly that, if there were considerable shortcomings in the performance of the United Nations, there had been notable achievements in the first 25 years of its existence, and he appealed for concerted action to make still greater progress in the next quarter-century. In the future, as in the past, the United Nations will succeed or fail in accordance with the extent of the determination of its member states to fulfil their commitment to co-operate with one another under the Charter. While lack of complete success, particularly in maintaining international peace and security, tends to disillusion those who may have expected too much too quickly from the United Nations, there are many encouraging signs that the habit of co-operation is growing in many areas of multinational activity under the aegis of the United Nations.

Despite initial serious differences of opinion on points of detail, the commemorative session adopted a general declaration on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization in which member states rededicated themselves to the aims of the Charter. After many months of arduous preparatory negotiations, this special session also approved an agreement on a comprehensive strategy for the Second Development Decade, described by the President of the General Assembly, Edvard Hambro of Norway, as one of the most important documents ever adopted by any international organization. Finally, the commemorative session approved a declaration on friendly relations and co-operation among member states that will make a useful contribution to the development of international law.

### **Areas of Progress**

When the United Nations again turned to the ordinary business of its twenty-fifth session, progress in a number of areas was recorded, notably:

agreement on the treaty prohibiting the placing of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction on the seabed; agreement by all groups on the measures necessary to strengthen international security; and a decision, resulting from a Canadian initiative, to set up a committee to examine and recommend improvements for the General Assembly's procedure and organization.

The twenty-fifth session also devoted considerable time and attention to Middle East questions. In plenary, the Assembly debated the general situation in the Middle East and adopted a resolution calling for the extension of the ceasefire for a further three months and urging the parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute to resume peace talks under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring, special representative of the Secretary-General for the Middle East. The Special Political Committee also adopted resolutions renewing the mandate of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees and, on the recommendation of UNRWA's Commissioner-General, established a working group to try to find ways of resolving the serious financial problems confronting the Agency.

On the long-standing issue of Chinese representation, a development of major significance to the future of the world organization was recorded. For the first time there was a simple majority in the General Assembly for the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China and for the first time Canada voted in favour of this change.

Since the Assembly was faced with a formidable agenda of some 100 items, in addition to special commitments arising from the important twenty-fifth anniversary occasion, it is understandable that not all its hopes for progress were fulfilled. In the area of peace and security, it is particularly worrying that the United Nations continues to appear unable to find a formula for meaningful influence in respect of many of the grave problems troubling the relations of nations. Nevertheless, 1970 was a year of milestones, and an impressive array of achievements gives encouragement for further advances in many fields in the ten-year period that has opened.

It was, coincidentally, both the year in which member states, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization, reaffirmed their commitment to the purposes and obligations of the UN Charter, and the year in which Canadians re-examined the principles of their own foreign policy. The review reaffirmed that it was a basic premise of Canadian policy to continue to strengthen the United Nations system as an effective instrument for international co-operation and, in particular, to improve the capacity of the organization to discharge its responsibilities. To ensure that Canadian participation in the United Nations would continue to serve national policy aims, 11 major objectives were identified in the United Nations section of the foreign policy review. Developments at the twenty-fifth session relating to these objectives were as follows:

### *1. Contributing to Social and Economic Development*

The Canadian delegation played an important part in the critical Second



Committee discussions, as it had in all prior negotiations, which resulted in consensus agreement on an international development strategy for the Second Development Decade. This document is of outstanding importance because of the reciprocal moral and political undertakings embodied in it for both the developing and the developed countries. An exciting and ambitious pioneer attempt to establish principles, targets and policy measures on a global basis, the strategy will undoubtedly have a significantly beneficial impact on economic and social development during and beyond the 1970s.

The Canadian delegation also played an active role in negotiations on almost 30 economic resolutions and decisions passed in the Second Committee, and was particularly prominent on certain questions of special interest to Canada: the production and use of edible protein, multilateral food aid, science and technology, and a unified economic and social approach to development — fields of vital significance, where the United Nations should play an increasing part.

In the Third Committee, the Canadian delegation participated in a wide-ranging discussion on the youth item on the agenda, and insisted, with other delegations, that more attention should be paid in the Committee to social items. Canada co-sponsored a resolution on natural disasters introduced by the representative of Turkey.

## *2. Working to stop the arms race*

As one of the most active members of the conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, Canada can claim an important share of the credit for the success of the seabed denuclearization treaty in the First Committee. As approved, the treaty differed significantly from the version originally put forward by the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. The Canadian delegation took the lead in building into the treaty substantive verification procedures involving recourse to the United Nations and the protection of the rights of coastal states. The Canadian delegation in the First Committee also pressed successfully for further progress on seismic information exchanges to prepare the ground for a complete nuclear test ban treaty. Canada also co-sponsored a unanimously approved resolution calling for the Secretary-General to study the economic and social consequences of the arms race, and Canada supported the call to cease the deployment of nuclear-weapon systems.

## *3. Promoting peacekeeping and peacemaking through the United Nations*

Canada followed up its part as an active member of the working group of the Committee of 33 on Peacekeeping by co-sponsoring, in the Special Political Committee, a resolution designed to push forward work on an accepted methodology for undertaking peacekeeping operations under United Nations auspices. The resolution urged the Committee to make some progress by May 1971. If progress is not made, consideration may have to be given at that time on whether

alternative methods of progress towards reaching agreement on peacekeeping models would be advisable.

Canada was also active in initiating behind-the-scenes discussions on the item on international security, which led to a Western draft resolution tabled in the First Committee. This draft was an important factor in the development of the final resolution outlining a declaration on the role of the United Nations in the search for peace and security.

#### *4. Reconciling Canadian objectives in Southern Africa*

Canada's balanced approach to the problems of Southern Africa was exemplified in the work of the Canadian delegation in the Special Political and Fourth Committees. On the *apartheid* item in the Special Political Committee, Canada supported five of the seven resolutions, and would have supported a sixth (on which it abstained), dealing with full implementation of an arms embargo against South Africa, had the vote in the United Nations taken place after the Canadian Cabinet had taken a decision to comply with an earlier Security Council resolution on this subject. Canada also abstained on one major resolution on *apartheid* on the grounds that it was the prerogative of the Security Council to determine if a situation requiring action under Chapter VII existed, and, if so, to decide upon the precise nature of the response required. The Security Council had made no such judgment about the situation in South Africa and in the Canadian view it was, therefore, inappropriate to suggest, as the resolution under consideration implied, that Chapter VII action was required at this time.

The Canadian delegation supported the extension of the UN Trust Fund for South Africa to Namibia and endorsed the work of the UN Educational Fund for Southern Africans, to which Canada was also contributing. Canada also supported the creation of a new fund especially for Namibia.

The Canadian delegation strongly opposed an attempt to reject the credentials of the representatives of South Africa, since this was not constitutionally appropriate and would create a dangerous precedent. Canada was unable to support a resolution on the Portuguese territories because of the inappropriate steps suggested in it, but once again made clear Canada's support for the exercise of self-determination in those territories.

#### *5. Taking measures to prevent further deterioration in the human environment*

The appointment of a Canadian, Maurice Strong, formerly President of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), as Secretary-General of the 1972 Conference on the Human Environment, to be held in Stockholm, has provided a powerful spur to preparations. Canada is a member of the preparatory committee of 27 states, which had useful informal discussions during the General Assembly session. Canada co-sponsored a resolution on environ-

ment in the Second Committee providing guidance to the next formal session of the preparatory committee in February. Canada is seeking to make clear to developing countries that measures to save the environment are as much in their present and future interests as in the interests of the developed countries, and that such measures should further rather than impede economic development.

6. *Promoting international co-operation in the uses of satellite systems*

Canada's work in the Outer Space Committee and its legal and scientific sub-committees, and in the Working Group on Space Satellite Direct Broadcasting, was carried forward in the First Committee by a resolution co-sponsored by Canada and Sweden, recommending the promotion and encouragement of international co-operation on regional and other levels in order, *inter alia*, to allow all participating parties to share in the establishment and operation of regional satellite broadcasting services and / or in program planning and production. Canada also co-sponsored a resolution that urged progress on the liability convention on objects from outer space with binding arbitration provisions, and co-sponsored a third omnibus resolution supporting continuing work on the Satellite Working Group.

7. *Promoting international co-operation in the use of the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction*

The Canadian delegation played a leading role in bringing together widely divergent viewpoints among delegations into a compromise resolution concerning preparations for the Law of the Sea Conference to take place in 1973. It will be prepared by an 80-member committee of which Canada will be a member, since it will include the 42 members of the Seabed Committee to which Canada belongs. Canada also participated actively in the negotiation of the declaration of principles concerning the regime for the exploitation of seabed resources beyond national jurisdiction, which strikes a balance between national and international interests, and between developed and developing countries. Canada co-sponsored the resolution embodying these principles.

8. *Promoting observance of human rights, including adherence to and respect for various United Nations conventions*

In the Third Committee, Canada strongly supported an attempt to make progress towards the establishment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights. Regrettably, no decision could be reached on this, because of opposition by the Soviet and other delegations. The discussion was useful and should lay the ground for progress next year.

Canada also supported a resolution on human rights in armed conflict laying down some basic principles for the protection of civilians in armed



conflicts. Affirmation by the General Assembly of those principles should give them more weight. On October 14, the Secretary of State for External Affairs deposited the instruments of ratification of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination.

9. *Contributing to the progressive development and codification of international law*

Canada helped draft the Declaration on the Principles of Friendly Relations among States, which should make a helpful contribution to international law in this field. Canada co-sponsored a resolution on hijacking urging international action and co-operation in this field, and also a resolution for the first steps to be taken in reviewing the role of the International Court of Justice. Canada's ratification of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties was also deposited by Mr. Sharp on October 14.

10. *Projecting Canada as a bilingual country within the United Nations context*

Canada, with other French-speaking delegations, has been seeking to increase the use of French as one of the two principal working languages in the United Nations Secretariat and the UN generally. As a result of Canadian and other interventions in the Fifth Committee and of discussions with Secretariat officials, the Secretary-General agreed to the re-establishment of a French-language unit in the Press and Publications Division of the Office of Public Information.

11. *Contributing to the institutional development of the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations*

During the commemorative session, the Canadian delegation led an initiative to rationalize and improve the procedures of the General Assembly. The Canadian resolution to set up a committee of 31 members to study the subject and report to the next Assembly session received wide co-sponsorship and support. In the Fifth Committee, Canada co-sponsored a resolution on the reactivation of the *ad hoc* committee of financial experts, on documentation and publications, and on the pattern of conferences. A Canadian proposal relating to the scope of the Secretariat salary review was also accepted.

An important feature of the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations was agreement by the commemorative session on a final declaration, which was approved without a vote on October 24. This anniversary statement of United Nations work and aims almost failed to achieve agreement because of difficulties over sections concerning decolonization and *apartheid*. The Canadian compromise wording was accepted at the last minute and permitted a consensus to be achieved.

# *Canada and the Civil War in Spain*

## REPATRIATION OF THE MACKENZIE-PAPINEAU BATTALION \*

HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM BARCELONA WHERE FOR PAST EIGHT DAYS WITNESSED FOUL BRUTALITY TOTALITARIAN WARFARE AGAINST SPANISH REPUBLIC STOP WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS DEMOCRATIC NATIONS MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN FREEDOM AND BARBARISM STOP IF SPANISH REPUBLIC CONQUERED BY FASCISM UNIVERSAL DEMOCRACY WILL SUFFER REVERSE AND DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES HAVE TO PREPARE FOR A WAR IN WHICH WILL HAVE ALREADY LOST FIRST BATTLE STOP IN NAME OF THOSE PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH SO MANY OF OUR FELLOWS [sic] CANADIANS GAVE LIVES IN GREAT WAR I URGE YOU TO LIFT EMBARGO AGAINST REPUBLICAN SPAIN <sup>(1)</sup>

This is the text of a telegram received by Canada's Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, W. L. Mackenzie King, on January 24, 1939. It was signed A. A. MacLeod, President, Canadian League for Peace and Democracy. On January 28, Dr. O. D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, sent MacLeod the following form reply:

The Prime Minister has asked me to acknowledge your telegram sent from Paris on January 24th regarding the Spanish situation and to say that your representations will receive consideration. <sup>(2)</sup>

The files of the Department <sup>(3)</sup> do not indicate what further consideration MacLeod's views received, however accurate his assessment may appear in retrospect. Canadian policy on the Civil War in Spain had long since been decided. The course of action that MacLeod pleaded for would have amounted, in the eyes of Canadian policy-makers, to an "irresponsible" Canadian intervention in a "European" affair. Further, given the policy of non-involment that was adopted by both the Non-Interventionist European countries and the neutrality conscious United States, it is almost inconceivable that Canadian policy should not have been a parallel one. Orders-in-Council on July 30, 1937, had placed an embargo on the export of Canadian arms to Spain and had made it unlawful for any Canadian national to enlist, or to leave Canada with intent to enlist, in the armed forces of either party engaged in the Civil War. <sup>(4)</sup>

One may seriously doubt whether the Orders-in-Council had much effect

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\* This article is the substance of a paper delivered at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, November 25, 1970. The author, John A. Munro, is a resident historian with the Department of External Affairs and an editor of the Department's *Documents on Canadian External Relations* series.

(1) *W. L. M. King Papers*, M.G. 26, Public Archives of Canada.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Unless otherwise identified all quotations and direct references are from the Department of External Affairs files 631-D-36, 291-E-37 and 11-CL-38.

(4) The arms embargo was passed under the authority of Section 290 of the Customs Act. The ban on enlistment simply involved applying the Foreign Enlistment Act, 1937, to Spain.

on the outcome of the war in Spain. Canada did not possess any sizable munitions industry. Funds continued to be raised in Canada in support of the Republican-Loyalist cause and continued, as before the embargo, to be spent on non-military items. Individual Canadians continued to volunteer for service in the International Brigade or, more particularly, the Brigade's Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, despite the prospect of penalization under the Foreign Enlistment Act. The King Government had taken a stand in favour of international conciliation, if Non-Intervention can be considered in that light. There was no apparent threat of Canadian involvement. Domestically, the Government's policies created no considerable public issue and, as a consequence, existing divisions within Canada were not exacerbated.

Indeed, the only very serious challenge to the success of Canadian policy on Spain after the summer of 1937 was that of the repatriation of Canadian volunteers. Skelton set forth these issues in a memorandum dated November 29, 1938:

This problem has been looming for some time and is now brought to a head by the ... telegram from the High Commissioner in London [Vincent Massey], stating that all the Governments parties to the Non-Intervention Agreement have undertaken to repatriate their nationals serving with the Government forces, and requesting a similar action on the part of Canada....

On October 31st the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs advised the High Commissioner that refugees from Spain are authorized to return to Canada upon [Immigration] Commissioner Little being satisfied that they are Canadian citizens, adding: "You are not authorized to expend any money towards the cost of repatriation." We are now asked to join with the European countries in taking charge of these men at the French border, bearing the expenses of their return to Canada and assuring their readmission to Canada. (5)

As Skelton subsequently wrote to Massey:

(The) Government declined to provide the funds.... We had been informed by the Canadian Pacific Railway that a private organization had given them definite assurances that funds would be forthcoming for the transportation of the volunteers. (6)

The organization in question was the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion. The source of their funds was the Spanish Republican Government. As was so often the case in the inter-war period, however, the line that divided Canadian policy from that of Britain was blurred in a general confusion over the relations that were evolving within the Commonwealth. Skelton explained to Massey:

Apparently the Spanish Government... assumed that arrangements made by the United Kingdom and other members of the Non-Intervention Committee for transportation would be adopted without question by all other parts of the British Empire, and they therefore declined to provide further funds themselves. (7)

This, of course, was not the case. On the question of the cost of repatriating volunteers, Canadian policy no longer followed that of Britain. It now paralleled

(5) Also in *King Papers, M.G. 26, P.A.C.* There was no attempt to debar any volunteer who would have had in other circumstances the right to re-enter Canada. Neither was there prosecution of those who had contravened enlistment and passport regulations. Indeed, every step was taken that would aid the return of the volunteers, short of paying for their transportation.

(6) *Confidential Despatch 484, December 30, 1938.*

(7) *Ibid.*



that of the United States alone, but without the same result. The United States Government had refused to pay for the repatriation of U.S. volunteers in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion and, as a consequence, their removal was still financed by the Spanish Government.

Canadian policy-makers throughout this period were particularly sensitive about any slights to Canada's new-found international status. They were bound to be chagrined at being considered as still part of the Empire, even by a government caught in the horrible plight of Republican Spain. One may suggest, however, that Canadian policy might not have been as hard-nosed had the example of the United States not loomed so large. This situation was to produce a subtle change in the policy, approved by the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs in October 1938, that:

no action should be taken which would lessen the activities of the Canadian friends of the volunteers who have sent the volunteers to Spain and should pay for their return if there is any way of inducing them to do so. <sup>(8)</sup>

If the emphasis of Canadian policy in October was on no action, as it was, then, by the end of December, it was on "any action" that would induce them to pay — even though the prospects for "any action" seemed slim. It is in this context that Alexander Albert MacLeod, President of the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy, comes briefly into the official picture as the principal in one of the more curious episodes in Canadian inter-war diplomacy.

MacLeod's organization was the principal manifestation of "popular frontism" <sup>(9)</sup> in Canada; it was a member of the Comintern's World Committee for the Fight Against Imperialistic War and Fascism. During the period of the Spanish conflict, the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy complemented the activities of the Spanish Aid Committee and, later, that of the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion in Spain (MacLeod was a vice-chairman of the Spanish Aid Committee along with Tim Buck and many prominent Canadians not readily identified with the Communist Party of Canada). Although each of the above organizations served as a front for Communist Party activities, the Party reserved to itself the function of recruiting volunteers for Spain. <sup>(10)</sup> For example, the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy seems to have devoted itself exclusively to serving non-military aspects of the Spanish Republican cause, raising "upwards of \$100,000" for "medical and food supplies". <sup>(11)</sup> Thus only the Communist Party contravened the regulations of July 1937.

MacLeod, if not an official Communist Party functionary, was certainly

(8) Departmental memorandum, October 19, 1938. This memorandum was "shown to Mr. Lapointe who indicated general approval" by J. E. Read, the Department's Legal Adviser. This handwritten note concerning Lapointe is not on the copy of this memorandum in the *King Papers, P.A.C.*

(9) The new line in policy of the Communist International, enunciated at its seventh Congress in Moscow in the summer of 1935.

(10) See Victor Hoar, *The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion* (Toronto, 1969). Pp. 9-10, for a limited discussion of the Spanish Aid Committee. Hoar's assessment of the CP of C's role in recruiting seems generally sound. The League for Peace and Democracy was outlawed by Order-in-Council in 1942 (P.C. 8862) under the authority of the War Measures Act. Tim Buck pays tribute to MacLeod's organization in his 30 years, 1922-1952, *The Story of the Communist Movement in Canada*, Pp. 118 and 123.

(11) A. A. MacLeod to O. D. Skelton, December 24, 1938.

one of the principal apologists for Party ideology in Canada in the 1930s, fulfilling a role for the Party along lines analogous to those followed by John Strachey in Britain. He was the founder of the *Canadian Tribune* and in 1943 was elected to the Ontario Legislature as a Labour-Progressive Party candidate.<sup>(12)</sup> The only readily available study of Canadian volunteers in Spain is Victor Hoar's *The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, published in 1969. Throughout, Hoar cloaks the role of A. A. MacLeod in the garb of one Allan Dowd. If MacLeod was in fact the same person as "Allan Dowd", who, for example, is credited in Hoar's book with the authorship of the telegram that begins this essay, he was a known Communist in 1936.<sup>(13)</sup>

According to Professor Hoar's account, "Dowd" was in Spain in January 1939 to negotiate "the repatriation of Canadian volunteers of the International Brigade, a 'diplomatic' assignment which was conducted with the full consent of the Canadian Government".<sup>(14)</sup> MacLeod was in Spain in January 1939, and his "mission" seems to fit the above description — perhaps even better than Professor Hoar realizes.

The period of crisis in the repatriation of Canadians from Spain began on December 8, 1938. On that day, Stephen Mandryk, agent of the Mackenzie-Papineau Friends in Paris, informed Canadian Pacific Railway officials that, contrary to past assurances, he "had no funds for passages of any large number of men to Canada".<sup>(15)</sup> Mandryk's function had been to book and pay passages of returning Canadian volunteers. According to the Executive Secretary of the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion in Toronto, J. Taylor, his organization was "not aware of the change [in the Spanish Government's policy] until after it occurred". He stated that, when they had negotiated earlier with CPR officials, "it was on the basis of conditions that actually existed and precedence [*sic*] for which were already established with the return of large numbers of men". He could offer no account for the change in Spanish policy that had not already been deduced by Skelton — i.e., the mistaken assumption that British policies would automatically apply to Canada. As a consequence, the Mackenzie-Papineau Friends asked MacLeod to intercede with the Spanish Government on their behalf.<sup>(16)</sup>

Skelton was, as usual, cautious. On December 21, he drafted the following memorandum in which MacLeod's initial involvement is described:

A. A. MacLeod of the League for Peace and Democracy telephoned today regarding provision for the return of Canadian volunteers from Spain. He stated that he had been informed that funds were not available for the purpose, and that it had been suggested to

(12) See biographical sketch of MacLeod in *Canadian Parliamentary Guides*, 1943-1951. Also note the importance of the *Canadian Tribune* in the indoctrination of Communist Party sympathizers in *Royal Commission on Espionage Report* (Ottawa, 1946), P. 73.

(13) Hoar, P. 8.

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) Memorandum prepared by the European Manager of Canadian Pacific Railway in London at the request of Canadian High Commissioner in *Despatch 120*, February 10, 1939. For December 13, 1938, the same CPR memorandum noted: "Agreed with Atlantic Conference to grant 25 percent reduction to destitute Canadians from Spain."

(16) J. Taylor to M. J. Coldwell and D. Lewis, December 24, 1938 — copy provided O. D. Skelton by recipients.



him by some of the Canadian organizations interested in the volunteers that he should proceed to Spain and interview the Prime Minister, Dr. Negrin, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. del Vayo, both of whom he knew, in an endeavour to persuade the Spanish Government to pay the transportation of the four or five hundred Canadians now awaiting return. He asked whether, in the event of his undertaking to do so, the Canadian Government would grant him the necessary passport visa.

I stated that the Canadian Government was not concerned with the question of provision of funds for the return of these volunteers. Its interest in the matter, aside from the question of the Foreign Enlistment Act, was limited to determining the eligibility of volunteers for return to Canada. For this purpose (as Mr. MacLeod indicated he was aware), the Department of Immigration had sent Mr. Munro to Spain with authority to determine, in accordance with Canadian Immigration regulations, the eligibility of each applicant for admission. I added that we had, however, been informed by the Department of Immigration that some of the organizations responsible for sending the men over to Spain had undertaken to provide the funds for their return. I could not say what attitude would be taken towards an application from him for permission to go to Spain, but I was certain that the first thing that would be done would be to make an enquiry into the undertakings that had already been given. It was not likely that we would be prepared to facilitate an attempt to evade what was reported to us as having been a definite undertaking to provide funds.

Mr. MacLeod declared that he was not connected with any organization responsible for the enlistment or recruiting of volunteers. His organization had confined its efforts wholly to humanitarian objects in support of refugees and children in Government Spain. He was, however, he admitted, concerned with the possibility that a public campaign by the other group to raise funds (which he did not imagine they now actually had in their possession) for the purpose of bringing back volunteers would interfere with the appeal of his organization for funds for humanitarian purposes. I informed him that we had no direct information as to the question of provision of funds. That was a matter which I understood had been taken up with the steamship authorities.

On December 23, Skelton drafted this further memorandum:

Mr. J. W. Coldwell, M.P., and Mr. David Lewis, <sup>(17)</sup> called today regarding the return of Canadian volunteers. They said representations had been made to them on the subject by Mr. A. A. MacLeod and by a Mr. Hunter of the Mackenzie-Papineau organization. Mr. MacLeod had informed them that he had made an application for a passport visa to Spain for the purpose of endeavouring to arrange with the Spanish Government for the transportation of Canadian volunteers back to Canada.

I informed them that this was not correct. I read them my report of my conversation with Mr. MacLeod, and added that Mr. MacLeod had enquired to whom an application for a passport should be made. I told him he should write to me on the subject and that his application would then be given consideration. I added that there were matters to be cleared up, particularly as to the undertakings given the C.P.R. as to provision of funds, before his request could be definitely dealt with. His application had certainly not been refused, and as a matter of fact no application has yet been received.

Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Lewis stated that, from what they knew of the organization, incompetence and unbusinesslike methods were likely more responsible for any misunderstanding that had occurred than any attempt to mislead the C.P.R. or the Canadian Government. He had understood from them that the Spanish Government had paid the expenses of the returning American volunteers, and they had probably assumed that the same arrangement would be made in the case of Canadian volunteers. I said I could not say who had paid the expenses of the American volunteers, but such information as I had received would tend to indicate that it was the Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade. In any case I would have assumed that people like the Mackenzie-Papineau organization, who

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(17) Coldwell was a leading spokesman for the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (after the death of Woodsworth, he was Party Leader) and Lewis was National Secretary of the CCF.



had means of direct contact with the Spanish Government, would have assured themselves of the elementary facts as to the Spanish Government's willingness to pay transportation before making a definite offer to the C.P.R.

Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Lewis said they thought it would be very desirable, in the interests of avoiding any controversy, if some means could be found of ensuring the return of the volunteers. I replied that the people who would doubtless wish to avoid any controversy were those who had raised the funds for sending the men over and who were now trying to evade their undertaking to bring them back. Before any answer could be given on Mr. MacLeod's application, when received, it would be necessary to find out, as I would endeavour to do, what assurances had been given the steamship company and by whom they had been given, and also to have evidence from some source as to whether the Spanish Government had, as a matter of fact, provided the funds for the return of volunteers to the United States. If this was not the case, Mr. MacLeod's visit to Spain would have less possibility of success.

Skelton had been sufficiently able to ascertain the facts in question by December 28, when he sent an "Urgent" memorandum on the subject to the Prime Minister. He reviewed the situation to that point and concluded:

The success of the latest Insurgent drive towards Barcelona may introduce further complications if action is not taken shortly, and assuming that the Canadian Government is not prepared to provide the funds itself, Mr. MacLeod's journey seems the most likely means of solving what may be an embarrassing situation. Mr. Beaudry and I, after a number of discussions with Mr. Blair [Director of Immigration], and Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Lewis, definitely think that a visa should be granted, but that at the same time it should be made clear the Canadian Government has no responsibility for his mission. Mr. MacLeod would propose to leave Toronto tomorrow to catch a Cunard boat at Halifax.

King initialled the comment "I approve" at the bottom.

Later that day, Laurent Beaudry, a senior officer of the Department, recorded the following:

I called up Mr. D. Lewis this afternoon and advised him that the endorsement to travel to Spain (Barcelona) could be granted on the understanding referred to by Dr. Skelton in conversation this morning.

I mentioned the usual requirement of a Declaration as provided by Order-in-Council.

Mr. Lewis will communicate by telephone with Mr. MacLeod in Toronto who will then forward by mail to Mr. Lewis or bring down himself to Ottawa the following declaration:

"In connection with my application for a passport to travel in Spain I wish to state that I desire to proceed to Spain, particularly Barcelona, in regard to the question of transportation to Canada of Canadian volunteers in Spain who may be eligible to return.

"I undertake that nothing will take place in the course of my visit that could be considered as implying any intervention by me on behalf of either side of the present dispute in Spain.

"I understand that I travel at my own risk and that His Majesty's Government in Canada undertake no responsibility for my protection or for my evacuation in case of need."

Upon the production of this Declaration, duly signed by Mr. MacLeod, Mr. Cooper of the Passport Office should be asked to insert in the passport the following endorsement:

"Valid for a single journey to Spain, particularly Barcelona, in connection with the question of transportation to Canada of Canadian volunteers in Spain who may be eligible to return."

On that same day MacLeod wrote Skelton complying with the instructions that had been given him through Lewis.

A memorandum prepared in London at the request of High Commissioner Massey by J. C. Patteson, the CPR European Manager, records MacLeod's

progress:

11th January, 1939. Mr. MacLeod of Toronto passed through London on his way to Barcelona, to interview Spanish Government, to secure funds for the return of the Canadians in Spain.

20th January, 1939. Mr. MacLeod secured from Spanish Government promise that they would pay us funds for transportation of all men, through their Ambassador in Paris.

25th January, 1939. Funds received by Mr. Clark [C.P.R. Agent], Paris, and that night 292 men left Spain for Liverpool, to embark on the D/RICHMOND January 27th.

Thus ended the crisis. As to MacLeod's mission, he was there to solicit funds for the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion in Spain from what remained of the Spanish Government. He had been granted a passport to travel in Spain on the recommendation of Skelton and with the Prime Minister's approval in order that he might secure again for Canadian volunteers what the Spanish Government was still providing the United States volunteers. He was successful and, as a direct result, the policy adopted by the Canadian Government on this question succeeded without undue domestic political strain. <sup>(18)</sup>

As a fringe benefit, a dying, Communist-dominated government accorded Canada the same recognition it had accorded the United States. The road to Canadian sovereignty is cobbled with some strange stones. Skelton's assessment of the Spanish situation appears to have been considerably affected by these events. On January 24, 1939, he noted in a memorandum for the Prime Minister:

The Spanish Government apparently has come across in providing funds for the return of the Canadian volunteers, as it did some time ago in the case of United States volunteers. I doubted very much these past few weeks whether, with the Insurgent-Italian-Moorish army hammering at the gates of Barcelona, and the Government resistance crumbling under the German guns and Italian planes, the Government would be able to spare the time and the funds to carry out this obligation, which is merely one of honour. Apparently they did . . .

Whatever mistakes were made by the anti-Fascist forces in Spain in their first angry reprisals, they have shown a surprising growth in moderation, courage, unity and effectiveness. I have followed the record of the Spanish Government of recent months with surprise and increasing admiration. When their record is compared with that of most of the recent Governments in France and England, with their endless muddling and lack of foresight, their cold-blooded concentration on their own immediate interests, there is a lot to be said for the conclusion that if the people of Canada really wanted to get into somebody's European war, they might choose Negrin's instead of Neville's.

The people of Canada, of course, were to choose Neville's.

(18) See F. H. Soward's account of divisions within Canada on the question of the Spanish Civil War in F. H. Soward et al. *Canada In World Affairs: The Pre-War Years* (Toronto, 1941), Pp. 12, 62-64.

# *A Tribute from the Foreign Service*

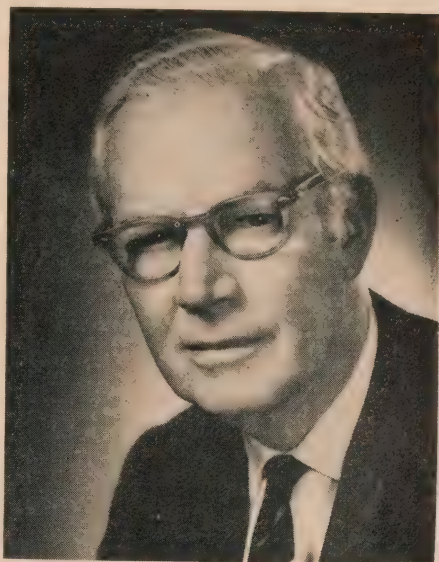
BY SAUL RAE, A CLOSE FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE

THE Prime Minister, in his tribute to Arnold Heeney, said that, with his death, "Canada has lost one of her most talented citizens — one who in a single lifetime contributed the equivalent of several careers". He added: "Few Canadians in history can claim so many nominations to fame."

The death of Arnold Heeney removes from the Canadian Public Service one of its most distinguished members, but his many contributions to Canada's national life, and his great influence on men and events during his lifetime, will endure.

After completing his academic studies at the University of Manitoba, McGill University, and, later, Oxford, and after a period spent in the practice and teaching of law in Montreal, Arnold Heeney became Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Clerk of the Privy Council, and the first Secretary to the Cabinet and of the Cabinet War Committee. He served in this capacity with great distinction throughout the Second World War. This and his subsequent career records the devotion to Canada and the versatility to which the Prime Minister referred. He was successively Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada's representative on the North Atlantic Council and the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, and, for most of a decade, Ambassador to the United States, except for the period from 1957 to 1959, when he was recalled to Ottawa to act as Chairman of the Public Service Commission. Following his Washington assignment, he became Chairman of the Canadian sections of the International Joint Commission and the Canada-United States Permanent Board on Defence. Towards the close of his career, he contributed much in the domestic field, assuming the chairmanship of the Preparatory Committee on Collective Bargaining in the Public Service and, in the private international field, the presidency of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

For him there were never two Canadas, a Canada at home and a Canada abroad. There was just one Canada, with enormous and common responsibilities



*A. D. P. Heeney*



to be met in both the domestic and international fields.

As a man, as an administrator, and as a diplomat, he was outstanding. The national interest and the highest standard of public service were his guidelines. But, to reflect them effectively, he was always alive to the practical context faced as Canadian negotiator and spokesman. His career involved him directly in the highest counsels of government, and in many critical situations affecting Canada's relations with other countries. In wartime tasks, in the multilateral work of the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and in the bilateral field of Canada-United States relations, the influence he brought to bear in solving problems, many of vital importance to Canada, was constant and constructive.

The *rapport* he established, for example, with leading Administration personalities in the United States made it easier to work towards mutually-acceptable situations consistent with Canada's needs and with his own highly-developed sense of justice and his personal integrity. No one to whom he spoke was ever left in doubt as to where Canada, or Arnold Heeney, stood.

Arnold Heeney saw the Government of Canada through a wide-angle lens. He gave short shrift to narrow bureaucratic or rigid departmental ideas and attitudes. At a time when the number of departmental agencies represented in Washington was beginning to proliferate, his administrative skills and his manner of dealing with people made all members of his mission, regardless of their departmental origins, feel themselves members of a single team working towards a common objective. The scope of his interests as an outstanding humanitarian, lawyer and diplomat made him an effective advocate over a wide range of political, economic, trade, defence and other problems he had to deal with as Canada's Ambassador to Washington almost on a daily basis over many critical years. No one who accompanied Arnold Heeney to a meeting with the Secretaries of State, Commerce, Treasury or Defence, or the Senators and Congressmen amongst whom he moved with great ease, would ever have described him as a believer in "quiet diplomacy". No one on the receiving end of one of his well-prepared presentations could have felt anything other than the utmost respect for his precision and clarity of expression, and above all his determination, energy and devotion where Canada was concerned.

Those who worked closely with him will recall that it was at times of major crisis that his true mettle was most directly revealed. In 1956, the tensions in the Middle East stretched to breaking-point. The thrust of Canadian diplomacy at that time in Ottawa and in the United Nations under the leadership of L. B. Pearson was to bring about a cease-fire. This was matched by tireless efforts on Heeney's part in Washington and by Norman Robertson in London and others elsewhere. Part of their task was to bridge the gap at a time when the dialogue between London and Washington was temporarily suspended.

Subsequently, the problems of Berlin, disarmament, European security, the deterrent roles of NATO and the North American Defence Command (NORAD), defence in a nuclear age, all posed issues over this period demanding the utmost

of his time and energies. Of equal, and many times of overriding, importance were the vast range of trade, economic and financial problems that arose between the two countries, as well as energy and defence production matters, and to these, as indeed to everything which could affect mutual relations, Arnold Heeney applied himself.

Changes of Government at home, and of the Administration in Washington, altered the political framework of diplomatic action but not his unswerving loyalty to the policies of Canada's elected leaders and to the national interest.

Arnold Heeney served under five Canadian Prime Ministers, and to each of them, and the members of their Cabinets, he gave of his best. Scrupulous in defining the respective responsibilities of the political leader and the civil servant, he did not consider he had done his duty until he had presented clearly to his Government (his penned notes are a model of brevity and precision) the implications of possible courses of action. More than this, he considered it his duty to recommend the course he believed to be wisest, based on his long experience and personal convictions.

Under his leadership, the Canadian Embassy in Washington was a creative and inventive centre of proposals directed towards achieving constructive solutions. Heeney realized full well how vital was the co-ordinating role of a diplomatic mission in helping different agencies at headquarters to balance and assign priorities to the often irreconcilable tasks each might wish the Embassy to perform, frequently at the same time. He believed with reason that the choice and deployment of the types of weapon to be drawn from the diplomatic arsenal, to be effective, should relate directly to the relative importance of the issue at stake to Canada.

Perhaps his main professional concern, whether in his NATO assignment or in Washington, was that, through his wide range of contacts, through the closest possible day-to-day touch with Ottawa, the mission he led should be able to provide an "early-warning" system that could detect incipient problems before a confrontation took place. There were many instances in which his analysis and judgment managed to forestall what might have become major sources of friction — or worse.

Arnold Heeney had joined the Public Service as a young man. Throughout his life he was a friend and counsellor of many other young men. He possessed exceptional physical and mental energy and took sports and outdoor life in his stride. He loved, and showed to others, the beauty of Danford Lake, with which his family associations were so close. He had rowed and played ice-hockey, and later was a familiar figure on the courts of Rockcliffe Tennis Club, the slopes of Wakefield and Camp Fortune, and even farther afield, on the high snows of Verbier in Switzerland. On this latter occasion, not too long ago, not even an ankle severely broken at 11,000 feet prevented him from saying to a companion that he thought he would be able to make it down without assistance.

Adversity, particularly in the ultimate form of the suddenness and severity

of his final illness, served to bring out his deepest reserves of inner strength. Even for the final test he was prepared.

Perhaps because in his own life he had accepted successfully so many challenges, perhaps because he considered that individuals of quality and imagination could handle a variety of assignments (or possibly needed to be shaken up from time to time), he encouraged lateral transfers between departments and agencies of the Government. As an Ambassador, he knew he was the representative not of the Department of External Affairs but of the Government of Canada as a whole.

Today there is much emphasis, and rightly, on integration, economy and efficiency of government effort at home and abroad. Arnold Heeney was both a proponent and a practitioner of this creed many years ago. In his periods of service abroad, he brought to bear all he had learned at the centre of authority — Ottawa, to which he was always happy to return. For him, the foreign service in its broadest aspect was simply the extension of the range and the power of national and governmental responsibilities in terms of Canada's relations abroad.

An old Master of St. John's College, Oxford, under whom Arnold had studied, reminisced to me, many years later during a Sunday walk by the Isis, of the character of the Canadians he had met and tutored since the 1920s, including men now of great distinction in many fields. The young Arnold Heeney he had known was for him, as his tutor, in the foremost rank.

His personal qualities leave the warmest of memories. A generous chief and friend; a profound believer in leading by example and encouragement; understanding and tolerant, except where his strong feelings of justice and decency were aroused; quick to protect and speak up for what he thought to be right; a shrewd judge of character; a counsellor and leader of men; a guide to the future.

Arnold Heeney was of the time and of the team of the small group of dedicated and able men who served Canada in the field of government and foreign affairs in the pre-war and wartime period and in the quarter-century afterwards. But Arnold was one of those individuals who looked to the past primarily as a prelude to planning and thinking in terms of the future. One of his last official acts was to sign a report on pollution in the lower Great Lakes, to be delivered by the International Joint Commission to the Canadian and United States Governments at the end of the year, and, when that report was tabled in the House of Commons on January 14, the Minister referred to Arnold Heeney and stated: "His contribution to the work of the IJC was perhaps the crowning achievement of a life devoted to the public service of Canada."

Throughout his life, the depth of his personal and spiritual convictions made him aware of the briefness of the span allotted to a single individual but aware also of the enormous tasks, just over the horizon, to be undertaken and, if possible, achieved through constructive and patient common effort.

The last time I spoke with Arnold he was in an Ottawa hospital and unable



to receive visitors. Of his own fight with illness he spoke hardly at all, except to say that the doctors were trying some new treatment. It was of other matters that he spoke, inquiring after my family and work, sending greetings to personal friends in government and private circles at my post — even making new and very useful suggestions for strengthening the ties between Canada and Mexico.

In sorrow at his passing, his wife Peggy and his family, to whom he was so devoted, the members of the Government he had served, and his countless colleagues and friends, from oldest to youngest, can take great heart in having had the love, the friendship and the counsel of this great Canadian.

## *Circumnavigation of the Americas*

CANADA possesses one of the longest coastlines in the world, and has a continental shelf of some 500,000 square miles containing great potential resource wealth in the Arctic and on the east and west coasts.

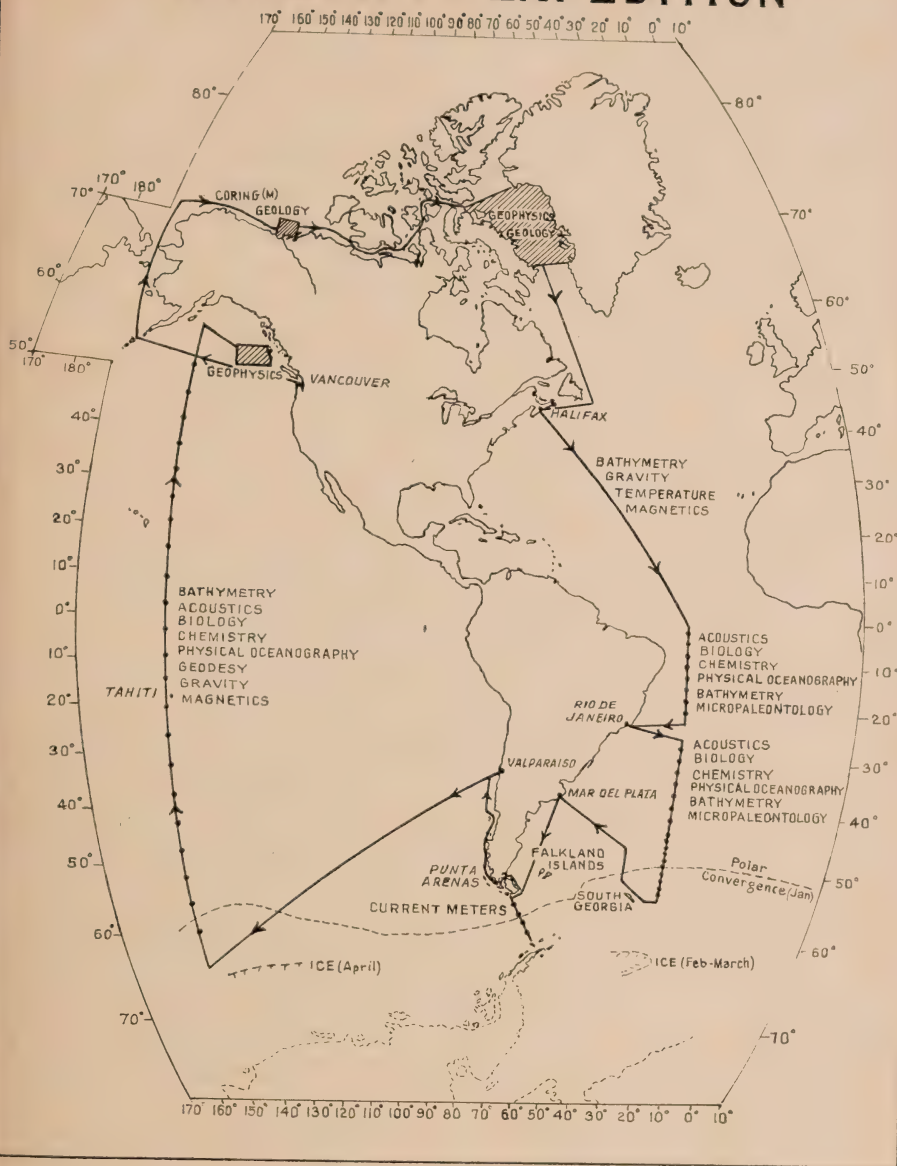
In February 1964, as a positive response to the increasingly evident need to gain knowledge of the marine environment, the Canadian Government commissioned the design and manufacture of the \$7.5-million Canadian Scientific Ship *Hudson*, named after the great explorer and navigator, Henry Hudson, who between 1607 and 1611 organized and led four expeditions into the Canadian Arctic in search of a short route to the Orient.

The oceanographic and hydrographic research capability of the CSS *Hudson* is the most modern possessed by any vessel of this type, and her performance has surpassed all expectations. Her specifications are as follows: four diesel engines, driving four main electric generators that supply twin-screw propulsion power totalling 7,500 bhp; length, 296 feet; displacement, 4,800 tons; cruising speed, 14 knots; range, 15,000 miles. The reinforced hull permits safe operation in Arctic ice.



*The Canadian Scientific Ship Hudson, which sailed round both continents of the western hemisphere.*

# HUDSON 70 EXPEDITION





The success of earlier cruises and the wealth of information gained gave rise to the idea that the *Hudson* should undertake a major voyage that might serve as Canada's contribution to the International Oceanographic Decade declared by the International Oceanographic Commission.

### **South and Back**

In November 1969 the *Hudson* left Halifax on a one-year oceanographic expedition called "Hudson 70". The voyage of 41,000 nautical miles took the vessel south in the Atlantic with stops at Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. In the Drake Passage between the tip of South America and Antarctica, a series of oceanographic instruments known as current meters were anchored and retrieved after several weeks. This very significant oceanographic feat resulted in the recording of precise quantitative information on the massive circumpolar flow of water through the Passage. After rounding Cape Horn, the *Hudson* continued north through the Chilean fiords with a stop at Valparaiso, then north to Vancouver, British Columbia, on through the Bering Sea into the Arctic and back to the east coast and Halifax, after almost one year at sea.

### **Northwest Passage**

One of the most important legs of the voyage took the *Hudson* through the Northwest Passage in an easterly direction. With the rapid formation and drifting of sea-ice between the Canadian Arctic islands, the *Hudson* had to race against time to escape the onset of early winter and reach the safety of the still ice-free waters of Baffin Bay.

During the Arctic cruise of the *Hudson*, the daily working schedule included "station stops" four times a day during which a "physical" oceanographer would take water samples, a sedimentologist would obtain core samples of the ocean bottom and biologists would obtain samples of the minute marine life known as plankton.

These scientists who pooled their specialized knowledge hope, through an interdisciplinary approach, that the results of their work will produce much knowledge of the Arctic. Not only did the *Hudson* collect invaluable information about the main sedimentary basins, which could be indicative of the presence of a great potential wealth of oil and gas, but she also gathered important data on the fragile Arctic ecology.

The wealth of information accumulated during this voyage will take several years to analyse and is of great scientific import, not only to Canada but also to the international scientific community, which has acquired a new appreciation of Canada's capability in oceanography and hydrography.

## *Shashi River Project in Botswana*

ON November 16, 1970, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, and Chief Linchwe II Molefhi Kgafela, High Commissioner of Botswana to Canada, signed an agreement whereby Canada would lend \$20 million to Botswana. This instrument will allow Canada to participate, with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the United States and Denmark, in financing the Shashi River Project, which is designed to provide the necessary infrastructure for the development of nickel and copper deposits in Botswana. It represents the largest single Canadian aid project in Africa.

The Canadian loan is for 50 years, with a ten-year period of grace on principal repayments and no interest.

Botswana, the former British dependency of Bechuanaland, became independent in 1966 and is a member of the Commonwealth. It is a large, land-locked country almost completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa and



*The agreement under which Canada will lend Botswana \$20 million for the Shashi River Project is signed in Ottawa by Chief Linchwe II Molefhi Kgafela, Botswana's High Commissioner in Canada, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp.*

# PROPOSED INFRASTRUCTURE FACILITIES





Rhodesia. Population density is low; some parts of the country, such as the Kalahari Desert, are virtually uninhabited. The majority of the population are agriculturalists and pastoralists living in villages or small towns. The citizens are known as Botswana (plural).

### **Economy**

At present the country's economy consists almost entirely of the raising and export of cattle and the cultivation of subsistence crops — wheat and maize. South Africa is Botswana's major trading partner. Botswana is also part of the South African customs union and uses South African currency.

The discovery of large deposits of copper, nickel, copper sulphide and coal in Botswana has raised the economic hopes of the country. At present, industry is virtually non-existent. Development of the Shashi River Project will constitute the first large industrial development and will play a vital role in reducing Botswana's present heavy dependence on external budgetary support. The total number of jobs created directly or indirectly will be about 3,500 by 1974, rising to 5,300 by 1980.

The Canadian financing of power facilities is in support of a larger project consisting of a mining town, a water-supply system, medical facilities, and road and rail communications to make mining possible near Phikwe in Northeast Botswana. Initial investments in the infrastructure and in the mine are expected to total \$94,600,000.

### **Other Donors**

Preliminary studies for the Project were carried out by the World Bank, which decided to proceed with the work if it could get some assistance from donor nations. Denmark has agreed to finance medical facilities with a \$2,900,000 loan. Other donor countries are expected to take part. Bamangwato Concessions Ltd., the mining company involved, is providing \$5,400,000 for housing in the new mining town of Phikwe.

Canada will provide four 15-megawatt steam turbines, three 15-megawatt boilers, and a 70-mile transmission-line, with all construction and installation work in the power sector. Canada will also provide sub-stations and switch-gear at Shashi and Francistown.

During the signing ceremony, Mr. Sharp observed that the development loan would allow Canada to make a significant contribution to the economic growth of Botswana. Forecasts clearly indicate that income from the Shashi River complex will radically improve government revenues besides providing much needed employment.

## *Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris*

ON APRIL 2, 1970, at a ceremony attended by French and Canadian dignitaries, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, inaugurated the Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris. The Centre is located at 5, rue de Constantine, in a mansion typical of the Second Empire and included on the list of historic and picturesque sites of the Department of the Seine. It was purchased by the Canadian Government in 1967, and has since been restored and renovated and equipped with the necessary technical facilities.

Mr. Guy Viau, professor and journalist, was appointed Director of the Centre. Mr. Viau was for some years Director of the Musée du Québec, later becoming Assistant Director of the National Gallery of Canada.

In a statement to the House of Commons on April 9, 1970, Mr. Sharp said:

Our new Cultural Centre in Paris will assist Canadians in France, especially students, and bring to the French people information about Canada, reflecting our bilingual and bicultural character and the many cultural strands that make up the Canadian fabric.

The Centre will serve as a welcoming and guidance centre for students and artists studying in Paris and will house a reference library for the use of Canadian and French researchers and students. It will contribute to the spread of Canadian culture in France through exhibitions, concerts, recitals, films, conferences and seminars. It will serve as a meeting-place for Canadians in France and their French friends and will naturally be used for meetings of Franco-Canadian cultural associations. Finally, it will bring together under one roof the cultural and information services of the Embassy.

### **Purposes of Centre**

In a Paris interview, Mr. Viau outlined the purposes of the Centre as follows:

Our first goal is to give Frenchmen and foreigners visiting Paris a vivid and living picture of Canada. There is a great deal happening now in Canada in painting, poetry and the cinema. The French public will find here permanent exhibitions of Canadian art. They will be able to attend meetings and concerts of contemporary Canadian music. They can participate in poetry and drama readings, enhanced by those brief and imaginative stagings that delight our young actors, and in film presentations. We now have 1,500 films. We are also thinking of using the Centre to introduce important books on Canada, whether their authors are Canadians or French. We are not concerned with organizing pretentious shows for prestige purposes only, but rather with live presentation in which the public will be ensured of quality works and where they will have the opportunity to exchange ideas with the Canadian intellectuals or artists most representative of our country and age.

Our second aim is to welcome and offer guidance to intellectuals, students, university professors, and even Canadian tourists, seeking to profit fully from their trip to France. Through our advice, we hope that they may derive the greatest benefit from their discovery of Paris and French culture. We shall strive to promote exchanges between our specialists and their French counterparts by bringing them into contact as often as possible. We shall attempt to facilitate research by our university teachers and students in France by making



*Main entrance of the Canadian Cultural Centre, 5, rue Constantine, Paris V°*

available to them the books and documents they require. In a word, we are trying to lend a helping hand to Canadian researchers visiting France.

### **Facilities**

The Centre includes a reception room, a student lounge, an exhibition-room, a room for film-projection, concerts and lectures, a film library, a sound laboratory, a record library, a library and reading-room and the cultural and information services. The student lounge, designed for relaxation and leisure, is composed of two rooms: the main lounge, whose coloured "altuglas" ceiling harmonizes with a set of contemporary Canadian furniture, is linked to the sound system and has a television screen. A smaller room is equipped with automatic coffee- and sandwich-vending machines.

The auditorium, which will serve for film showings, concerts, seminars and conferences, measures about 48 by 23 feet and can accommodate about 100 persons. The screen measures about 6 by 15 feet and the sound system includes provision for tape-recording concerts and conferences and a stereophonic system for listening to records or tapes. The projection room has two projectors for 16mm sound films with a lantern for a 500 W xenon lamp, as well as two



slide projectors with continuous feed and remote control. The auditorium is equipped with a concert piano and is air-conditioned.

The film library has a collection of more than 1,500 Canadian films available to educational and cultural organizations. A catalogue may be obtained on request.

The large exhibition-room is equipped with a lighting system on conductor rails permitting the use of either movable projectors with incandescent lamps or spotlights equipped with quartz lamps. Light regulators permit various degrees of lighting, depending on the type of exhibition. The room has many windows and is provided with a sound and humidifying system. It is a multi-purpose room, which will enable the French public and Canadians in France to become better acquainted with Canadian artists.

The sound laboratory, which is used for listening to records and tapes, has a stereophonic, high-fidelity tape-recorder, two high-fidelity turntables, sound booths for stereophonic diffusion and control, a dispatching system for modula-



*Library of the Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris*

tion selection and loudspeaker lines, an AM-FM stereophonic receiver and earphones. The sound system is linked to the theatre and exhibition room.

The record library includes 10,000 records and a collection of musical scores on microfilm.

The library, headed by qualified librarians, includes some 10,000 works, the majority being Canadian. In addition to newspapers and periodicals, visitors will have access to a descriptive catalogue and a collection of microfilms. The lighting of the room is designed to enable students and researchers to work under the best conditions. A reading-room is located beside the library.

The Centre's 1970-71 season will include: the showing of films (*Le Règne du Jour* by Pierre Perrault and *Pas de Deux* by Norman McLaren); exhibitions of recent paintings by Fernand Leduc and Claude Goulet and of Eskimo prints by Henri Matisse; variety and theatrical evenings presented by Gabriel Gascon and introducing the talents of Canadian actors, singers and poets visiting Paris; poetry readings (*Les Cœurs simples* and *Les Innocentines*, interpreted by Letondal); and a concert of Canadian music by the Ars Nova ensemble, under the direction of Jacques Beaudry.

# *The Hague Diplomatic Conference on Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft* <sup>(1)</sup>

A CANADIAN delegation, consisting of the Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and Legal Adviser, Mr. P. A. Bissonnette, Mr. L. S. Clark of the Department's Legal Division and Messrs C. K. Kennedy and A. MacNutt of the Department of Transport, participated in the conference convened under the auspices of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), at the invitation of the Netherlands Government, in The Hague from December 1 to 16, 1970, to deal with the problem of aerial hijacking. At the conclusion of the conference, which was held under the title The Hague Diplomatic Conference on Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (Hijacking), a Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft was adopted without any dissenting vote. Of the 77 states that attended the Conference, Canada and 49 other countries signed the Convention on that date.

## **Major Issues**

The conference had before it a draft convention elaborated by the ICAO Legal Committee over the past two years, in the preparation of which Canadian representatives had played a significant role. However, in the light of the recent increase in the number and seriousness of acts of aircraft hijacking, it was the general view, shared by Canada, that this draft should be strengthened — in particular the provisions concerning prosecution and extradition. Also, the question of universal jurisdiction over offenders — even when the hijacking had not been committed in the territory of or against the aircraft of the state in question, i.e. to which the hijacker had escaped or where he otherwise happened to be — had been left by the Legal Committee to be resolved by the Diplomatic Conference. In addition, there was a growing consensus that final clauses allowing “all states” to become parties to the new instrument should be adopted.

## **Prosecution and Extradition**

After thorough consideration by a committee of the whole, by a special working group (on which Canada was represented) and by the conference plenary, which reviewed and ultimately amended the texts recommended to it, Articles 7 and 8 of the Convention were redrafted in much stronger terms than in the Legal Committee text. Under the revised Article 7 in the Convention as adopted, a contracting state in the territory of which an alleged hijacker is found is obliged,

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(1) This is the seventh in a series of articles appearing monthly in *External Affairs* dealing with the work of the Legal Division of the Department of External Affairs.



"without exception whatsoever and whether or not the offence was committed in its territory", to submit the case for prosecution if it does not extradite. The phrase quoted above is designed to preclude a state's exercising its right not to prosecute because of the political motivation for the offence. Article 8 had the effect of making hijacking an extraditable offence both as between states, such as Canada, which require bilateral treaties, and those that extradite on the basis of national law and reciprocity. The final text provides that a contracting state normally dependent on the existence of such a treaty "may, at its option, consider this Convention as the legal basis for extradition" to a state with which it does not, in fact, have this type of treaty relation.

### **Jurisdiction**

In accordance with the generally-accepted principle that no hijacker should escape prosecution because of legal technicalities, the Conference adopted far-reaching jurisdictional provisions. In essence, a state party is required to ensure that it will have jurisdiction over an offender in the case where (1) the hijacking is directed against its own registered aircraft, wherever it may be; (2) the hijacked aircraft lands in its territory with the offender on board; (3) the offence is committed against an aircraft leased without crew to a lessee that had a particular connection with the contracting state in question; and (4) the hijacker is present in its territory and is not extradited to a state wishing to exercise jurisdiction under (1), (2) or (3) above.

### **Final Clauses**

While the ICAO Council had taken the initial decision on the question of invitations to the Hague Conference, the subject of signature and accession to the Convention was left to the Conference itself to decide. As a result of preliminary consultations both before and during the early days of the Conference, it was evident that an overwhelming majority of participating delegations were of the view that the Convention should be open to all states to become parties thereto. When adopted, the Convention stipulated that it could be signed on December 16, 1970, by delegations participating in the Conference and that after December 31, 1970, it would be open to all states for signature and ratification in London, Moscow and Washington. The treaty is to enter into force 30 days following the date of deposit of the tenth instrument of ratification by a state which was represented at The Hague.

### **Further Action by Canada**

The Convention is at present being examined by the Department of Justice, the Department of Transport, and the Legal Division of the Department of External Affairs with a view to ascertaining what steps, including the enactment of domestic legislation, will be required before Canada can ratify it. When this study and subsequent interdepartmental consultations have been completed, it is expected



*The Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. A.J. Pick, signs the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft in The Hague on December 16, 1970.*

that the Minister of Justice will decide whether and when any necessary legislation will be prepared. (It appears that at least one amendment to the Criminal Code on the subject of jurisdiction over hijackers, will have to be effected.)

When recommending signature of the Convention, the Canadian delegation was satisfied that the new instrument, if widely acceded to, could be effective and that its adoption was a major step in the elaboration of an international legal framework to prevent and deter aircraft hijacking. The final text is in line with the type of agreement the Canadian representatives to the various ICAO conferences on the subject of unlawful seizure have consistently advocated. The Hague Conference was successful mainly because there was a definite community of interest among East, West and non-aligned delegations that hijacking posed a great threat to the safety of international air communications. It is also noteworthy that the Soviet Union, which for the first time took part in an international aviation conference as a member state of ICAO, played an active role at The Hague. As a member of the Special Legal Subcommittee on Unlawful



Seizure of Aircraft, which met in February and September-October 1969, a major participant at the seventeenth session of the ICAO Legal Committee in February and March 1970, and an important contributor towards the success of the Hague Conference, Canada has reason to be well satisfied with the new Convention. It is expected that the steps necessary to enable early Canadian ratification will be initiated shortly.

The text of the Convention follows:

## CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF UNLAWFUL SEIZURE OF AIRCRAFT

The states Parties to this Convention

**considering** that unlawful acts of seizure or exercise of control of aircraft in flight jeopardize the safety of persons and property, seriously affect the operation of air services, and undermine the confidence of the peoples of the world in the safety of civil aviation;

**considering** that occurrence of such acts is a matter of grave concern;

**considering** that, for the purpose of deterring such acts, there is an urgent need to provide appropriate measures for punishment of offenders:

Have agreed as follows:

### *Article 1*

Any person who on board an aircraft in flight:

- (a) unlawfully, by force or threat thereof, or by any other form of intimidation, seizes, or exercises control of, that aircraft, or attempts to perform any such act, or
- (b) is an accomplice of a person who performs or attempts to perform any such act, commits an offence (hereinafter referred to as "the offence").

### *Article 2*

Each contracting state undertakes to make the offence punishable by severe penalties.

### *Article 3*

(1) For the purposes of this Convention, an aircraft is considered to be in flight at any time from the moment when all its external doors are closed following embarkation until the moment when any such door is opened for disembarkation. In the case of a forced landing, the flight shall be deemed to continue until the competent authorities take over the responsibility for the aircraft and for persons and property on board.

(2) This Convention shall not apply to aircraft used in military, customs or police services.

(3) This Convention shall apply only if the place of take-off or the place of actual landing of the aircraft on board which the offence is committed is situated outside the territory of the state of registration of that aircraft; it shall be immaterial whether the aircraft is engaged in an international or domestic flight.

(4) In the cases mentioned in Article 5, this Convention shall not apply if the place of take-off and the place of actual landing of the aircraft on board which the offence is committed are situated within the territory of the same state where that state is one of those referred to in that article.



(5) Notwithstanding paragraphs 3 and 4 of this Article, Articles 6, 7, 8 and 10 shall apply whatever the place of take-off or the place of actual landing of the aircraft, if the offender or alleged offender is found in the territory of a state other than the state of registration of that aircraft.

#### *Article 4*

(1) Each contracting state shall take such measures as may be necessary to establish its jurisdiction over the offence and any other act of violence against passengers or crew committed by the alleged offender in connection with the offence, in the following cases:

- (a) when the offence is committed on board an aircraft registered in that state;
- (b) when the aircraft on board which the offence is committed lands in its territory with the alleged offender still on board;
- (c) when the offence is committed on board an aircraft leased without crew to a lessee who has his principal place of business, or if the lessee has no such place of business, his permanent residence, in that state.

(2) Each contracting state shall likewise take such measures as may be necessary to establish its jurisdiction over the offence in the case where the alleged offender is present in its territory and it does not extradite him pursuant to Article 8 to any of the states mentioned in paragraph one of this Article.

(3) This Convention does not exclude any criminal jurisdiction exercised in accordance with national law.

#### *Article 5*

The contracting states which establish joint air transport operating organizations or international operating agencies, which operate aircraft which are subject to joint or international registration shall, by appropriate means, designate for each aircraft the state among them which shall exercise the jurisdiction and have the attributes of the state of registration for the purpose of this Convention and shall give notice thereof to the International Civil Aviation Organization which shall communicate the notice to all state parties to this Convention.

#### *Article 6*

(1) Upon being satisfied that the circumstances so warrant, any contracting state in the territory of which the offender or alleged offender is present, shall take him into custody or take other measures to ensure his presence. The custody and other measures shall be as provided in the law of that state but may only be continued for such time as is necessary to enable any criminal or extradition proceedings to be instituted.

(2) Such state shall immediately make a preliminary enquiry into the facts.

(3) Any person in custody pursuant to paragraph one of this Article shall be assisted in communicating immediately with the nearest appropriate representative of the state of which he is a national.

(4) When a state, pursuant to this Article, has taken a person into custody, it shall immediately notify the state of registration of the aircraft, the state mentioned in Article 4, Paragraph 1 (c), the state of nationality of the detained person and, if it considers it advisable, any other interested states of the fact that such person is in custody and of the circumstances which warrant his detention. The state which makes the preliminary enquiry contemplated in Paragraph 2 of this Article shall promptly

report its findings to the said states and shall indicate whether it intends to exercise jurisdiction.

#### *Article 7*

The contracting state in the territory of which the alleged offender is found shall, if it does not extradite him, be obliged, without exception whatsoever, and whether or not the offence was committed in its territory, to submit the case to its competent authorities for the purpose of prosecution. Those authorities shall take their decision in the same manner as in the case of any ordinary offence of a serious nature under the law of that state.

#### *Article 8*

(1) The offence shall be deemed to be included as an extraditable offence in any extradition treaty existing between contracting states. Contracting states undertake to include the offence as an extraditable offence in every extradition treaty to be concluded between them.

(2) If a contracting state which makes extradition conditional on the existence of a treaty receives a request for extradition from another contracting state with which it has no extradition treaty, it may at its option, consider this Convention as the legal basis for extradition in respect of the offence. Extradition shall be subject to the other conditions provided by the law of the requested state.

(3) Contracting states which do not make extradition conditional on the existence of a treaty shall recognize the offence as an extraditable offence between themselves subject to the conditions provided by the law of the requested state.

(4) The offence shall be treated, for the purpose of extradition between contracting states, as if it had been committed not only in the place in which it occurred but also in the territories of the states required to establish their jurisdiction in accordance with Article 4, Paragraph 1.

#### *Article 9*

(1) When any of the acts mentioned in Article 1 (a) has occurred or is about to occur, contracting states shall take all appropriate measures to restore control of the aircraft to its lawful commander or to preserve his control of the aircraft.

(2) In the cases contemplated by the preceding paragraph, any contracting state in which the aircraft or its passengers or crew are present shall facilitate the continuation of the journey of the passengers and crew as soon as practicable, and shall without delay return the aircraft and its cargo to the persons lawfully entitled to possession.

#### *Article 10*

(1) Contracting states shall afford one another the greatest measure of assistance in connection with criminal proceedings brought in respect of the offence and other acts mentioned in Article 4. The law of the state requested shall apply in all cases.

(2) The provisions of Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not affect obligations under any other treaty, bilateral or multilateral, which governs or will govern, in whole or in part, mutual assistance in criminal matters.

#### *Article 11*

Each contracting state shall in accordance with its national law report to the

Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization as promptly as possible any relevant information in its possession concerning:

- (a) the circumstances of the offence;
- (b) the action taken pursuant to Article 9;
- (c) the measures taken in relation to the offender or alleged offender, and, in particular, the results of any extradition proceedings or other legal proceedings.

#### *Article 12*

(1) Any dispute between two or more contracting states concerning the interpretation or application of this Convention which cannot be settled through negotiation, shall, at the request of one of them, be submitted to arbitration. If within six months from the date of the request for arbitration the parties are unable to agree on the organization of the arbitration, any one of those parties may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice by request in conformity with the Statute of the Court.

(2) Each state may at the time of signature or ratification of this Convention or accession thereto, declare that it does not consider itself bound by the preceding paragraph. The other contracting states shall not be bound by the preceding paragraph with respect to any contracting state having made such a reservation.

(3) Any contracting state having made a reservation in accordance with the preceding paragraph may at any time withdraw this reservation by notification to the depositary governments.

#### *Article 13*

(1) This Convention shall be open for signature at The Hague on December 16, by states participating in the International Conference on Air Law held at The Hague from December 1-16, 1970. (Hereinafter referred to as The Hague Conference.) After December 31, the Convention shall be open to all states for signature in Moscow, London, and Washington. Any state which does not sign this Convention before its entry into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this Article may accede to it at any time.

(2) This Convention shall be subject to ratification by signatory states. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with governments of U.S.S.R., the U.K. and Northern Ireland, and the U.S.A. which are hereby designated depositary governments.

(3) This Convention shall enter into force thirty days following date of deposit of instruments of ratification by ten states signatory to this Convention which participated in The Hague Conference.

(4) For other states, this Convention shall enter into force on date of entry into force of this Convention in accordance with paragraph 3 of this Article, or thirty days following date of deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession, whichever is later.

(5) Depositary governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding states of the date of each signature, date of deposit of each instrument of ratification or accession, date of entry into force of this Convention, and other notices.

(6) As soon as this Convention comes into force, it shall be registered by depositary governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations and pursuant to Article 83 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation (Chicago, 1944).



#### Article 14

(1) Any contracting state may denounce this Convention by written notification to depositary governments.

(2) Denunciation shall take effect six months following date on which notification is received by depositary governments. In witness whereof undersigned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorized thereto by their governments, have signed this Convention.

Done at The Hague, this sixteenth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and seventy, in three originals, each being drawn up in four authentic texts in the English, French, Russian and Spanish languages.



Mr. André Ouellet of Canada signs the Final Act of the 1970 Pledging Conference for the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Seated next to him is Mr. Samar Sen of India, President of the Conference. After his appointment as Parliamentary Secretary and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Ouellet joined the Canadian delegation and served on the Special Political Committee.

## CONFERENCES

Fifth Commonwealth Educational Conference : Canberra, February 3-17

Commission on Human Rights : New York, February 22-26

UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, resumed tenth session : Geneva, March 1-5

UN Commission for Social Development, twenty-first session : New York, March 1-19

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, twenty-seventh session : Manila,  
March/April

WMO Sixth World Meteorological Congress : Geneva, April 5-30

UNICEF Executive Board : Geneva, April 13-29

Plenipotentiary Conference on Definitive Arrangements for the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium : Washington, April 14 — mid-May.

Economic Commission for Europe, twenty-sixth session : Geneva, April 19-30

ECOSOC, fiftieth session : New York, April 26 — May 21

Economic Commission for Latin America : Santiago, April 27 — May 7

UNESCO Executive Board, eighty-seventh session : Paris, April/May

WHO, World Health Assembly, twenty-fourth session : Geneva, May 4-28

World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing : Vancouver, July 5-16

International Federation for Information Processing, fifth congress : Ljubljana, Yugoslavia,  
August 23-28

Fourth Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy : Geneva September  
6-16.

Fifteenth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency : Vienna  
September 23-30.

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Mr. G. S. Smith posted from the Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, to Ottawa, effective December 4, 1970.
- Mr. R. C. Stansfield posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective December 7, 1970.
- Mr. L. H. Leduc posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Yaounde, effective December 9, 1970.
- Mr. R. G. C. Smith, Consul General of Canada in New York, retired from the Public Service, effective December 9, 1970.
- Mr. A. P. Bissonnet, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Uruguay, effective December 15, 1970.
- Mr. D. M. Collacott posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Peking, effective December 16, 1970.
- Mr. L. E. Green posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Islamabad, effective December 17, 1970.
- Mr. J. C. Langley appointed Canadian Ambassador to Belgium, effective December 17, 1970. Accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Luxembourg, effective January 13, 1971 and Head of the Canadian Mission to the European Economic Community, effective January 29, 1971.
- Mr. S. E. Gooch posted from the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, to Ottawa, effective December 19, 1970.
- Miss M. S. MacKay posted from the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, to Ottawa, effective December 20, 1970.
- Mr. D. G. Longmuir posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective December 21, 1970.
- Mr. G. B. Summers, Canadian Ambassador to Chile, retired from the Public Service, effective December 23, 1970.
- Mr. D. E. Waterfall posted from Ottawa to the British Ministry of Defence Chinese Language School, Lyemun, Hong Kong, effective December 23, 1970.
- Mr. P. Ducharme posted from Ottawa to l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Paris, effective December 24, 1970.
- Mr. C. J. Marshall posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, effective December 29, 1970.
- Mr. E. P. Foychuk posted from Ottawa to the Office of the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong, effective December 30, 1970.
- Mr. T. D. Monaghan posted from the Canadian Embassy, Prague, to Ottawa, effective December 30, 1970.
- Mr. R. P. Kirby appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective January 1, 1971.
- Mr. D. A. Moorman posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective January 1, 1971.
- Mr. R. C. O. O'Hagan retired from the Public Service, effective January 1, 1971.
- Mr. R. D. Conchie appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective January 4, 1971.
- Miss L. Frechette appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective January 4, 1971.
- Mr. W. B. Hunter appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective January 4, 1971.



- Mr. L. L. Herman appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective January 4, 1971.
- Mr. W. D. Harrold appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective January 4, 1971.
- Mr. A. F. Haggins posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective January 5, 1971.
- Mr. D. M. Stockwell posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Peking, effective January 6, 1971.
- Mr. A. N. Robinson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Prague, effective January 7, 1971.
- Mr. B. A. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective January 8, 1971.
- Mr. D. S. Wright posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Singapore, effective January 10, 1971.
- Mr. J. M. Fraser appointed Chargé d'Affaires a.i. in the People's Republic of China, effective January 11, 1971.
- Mr. W. G. Licari posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nairobi, effective January 11, 1971.
- Mr. J. C. Legg posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Abidjan, effective January 11, 1971.
- Mr. R. J. Rochon posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective January 11, 1971.
- Mr. M. K. Esselmont resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective January 15, 1971.
- Mr. A. P. Smyth posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nairobi, to Ottawa, effective January 17, 1971.
- Mr. A. Morantz posted from the Canadian Embassy, Abidjan, to Ottawa, effective January 18, 1971.
- Mr. A. Mathewson posted from Ottawa to the Royal College of Defence Studies, London, effective January 22, 1971.
- Mr. I. G. Mundell posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Islamabad, to Ottawa, effective January 23, 1971.
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth, Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to the Somali Republic, effective January 23, 1971.
- Mr. R. Choquette, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, retired from the Public Service, effective January 23, 1971.
- Mr. H. Korn posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, effective January 25, 1971.
- Mr. B. M. O'Connell posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective January 27, 1971.
- Mr. A. Simard posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective January 28, 1971.
- Miss A. M. H. Gendron posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective January 29, 1971.
- Mr. G. D. MacKinnon transferred from the Department of External Affairs to the Treasury Board, effective January 30, 1971.
- Mr. J. G. Sleeth resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective January 31, 1971.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Commonwealth Leaders Confer in Singapore*

AT 10.00 a.m. on January 14, 1971, Commonwealth heads of government began arriving at the Singapore Conference Centre for the opening of their first regular conference to be held outside London. At the conference hall, leaders were welcomed by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Mr. S. Rajaratnam, and the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Arnold Smith. In all, seven presidents, 17 prime ministers, one vice-president and six senior ministers attended, leading delegations that represented some 850,000,000 people — or between a quarter and a third of the world's population. The formal opening session began at 11.00 a.m. Prime Minister Lee, acting as chairman, welcomed the delegates. Prime Minister Holyoake of New Zealand, the most senior of the Commonwealth leaders present, and the Honourable Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister of Fiji, the most recent member of the Commonwealth, responded on behalf of the delegations. The conference continued until January 22. From the Canadian point of view, it was an interesting, dramatic and highly successful meeting.



*During a session of the Singapore meeting of Commonwealth heads of government, Prime Minister Trudeau converses with Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus.*



## **New Focus of Attention**

The presence for the first time of prime ministers from the South Pacific region (Western Samoa, Tonga and Fiji) made the Singapore venue particularly appropriate, since it helped to focus greater attention on Commonwealth members and problems in Asia and the Pacific and set the general tone for the meeting. As Prime Minister Trudeau declared in his statement to the House of Commons <sup>(1)</sup> on his return from the Conference:

The world, as we know but so often tend to forget in the immediacy of our own domestic problems, is populated to an overwhelming degree by persons who are desperately poor and whose colonial experience in many instances leads them to question the values and the sincerity of the developed countries. All too often as well, "rich" and "white" are regarded by them as synonymous. We forget these facts at our peril.

In Singapore it quickly became apparent that the future of the world will not necessarily be determined in accordance with European conceptions. The Commonwealth, viewed from Singapore, presented challenges to the ingenuity and goodwill of its members to find ways of communicating across differences measured in many instances by thousands of miles and by centuries of experience, yet without insisting upon adherence to preconceived notions or attitudes. In the result, the value of the Singapore conference might best be described in terms of the comprehension gained by delegates, and not by the persuasion which anyone attempted to exercise.

From the windows of the conference hall delegates could look out across the harbour of the world's fourth-busiest port, filled with ships carrying cargo from almost every nation. In addition, the meeting in Singapore exposed Commonwealth delegates from other parts of the world to a vivid example of the rapid progress being achieved by one of the smaller and newer Asian members, where people from various racial groups, working harmoniously together, are building a dynamic and prosperous society. The physical and administrative arrangements for the conference were highly satisfactory and were commended by all the participants.

In addition to the usual general debate of the world political and economic scene, the Commonwealth leaders discussed the implications of the proposed entry of Britain into the Common Market, the situation in Southern Africa, the security of the Indian Ocean, and the future of the Commonwealth in the Seventies. There was also attention given to various measures to increase functional co-operation for development within the Commonwealth through the establishment of a multilateral basis of the Commonwealth Program for Technical Co-operation, the expansion of the activities of the Commonwealth Foundation, the exploration of the possibility of enlarging activities in education and youth exchanges. A modest information program was also approved.

## **Dissolution Temporarily Averted**

The proposed resumption of arms sales by Britain to South Africa dominated the conference. After two days of searching and dispassionate discussion by heads of government without their advisers, the prospect of the break-up of the Commonwealth over this issue was temporarily averted by agreement to set up

(1) For a complete text of the Prime Minister's remarks, see *Hansard*, February 1, 1971, Pp. 2925-26.

a representative study group of eight Commonwealth members to consider the factors affecting the security of maritime trade-routes in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans and to report to member governments through the Secretary-General as soon as possible.

Probably the most significant achievement was the unanimous adoption of a Commonwealth declaration (the Singapore Declaration) setting out the principles on which the Commonwealth operated and listing certain goals and objectives aimed at by member governments and their peoples. A draft text was tabled at the first working session by President Kaunda of Zambia, <sup>(2)</sup> who invited comments and amendments. Considerable time was devoted to discussion and negotiation of the Declaration in committee and in the Conference Centre corridors, and agreement on a text was only achieved on the final day. The Declaration, which is not a charter or constitution, carries the endorsement of all members and constitutes a useful set of guidelines for the present decade.

### **Experience Swap Recommended**

The discussion of the Declaration helped to focus attention on Commonwealth goals and objectives and led naturally to an examination of how heads-of-government meetings could be used more effectively to serve the mutual interests and needs of members. Prime Minister Trudeau suggested that future meetings should become primarily occasions where heads of government met to learn from one another's experience, leaving to other international forums wide-ranging general discussions of the world political and economic situation. He also suggested that Commonwealth leaders might derive greater mutual benefit by avoiding concentration on immediate political crises and by studying together larger issues likely to arise in five years' time, thereby broadening their understanding of the forces at work in the world and focusing on emerging problems at a stage where there was some prospect on influencing the factors at work. It was in this context that he put forward the suggestion for a broad discussion of comparative techniques of government. There was also considerable discussion of various possible procedural changes to reduce the time spent in oral delivery of lengthy set-piece speeches and to produce a briefer and more balanced communiqué. <sup>(3)</sup> It was generally agreed that the opportunity afforded by the meetings for government leaders to meet personally and informally should be retained, as it gave Commonwealth conferences a special character.

The last major accomplishment was the solid advance made in further widening the area of effective functional co-operation for development among members under the aegis of the Secretariat. Canada announced that it would contribute the lesser of 40 per cent of the total or \$350,000 a year to a multi-lateral Commonwealth program for technical co-operation and, depending on the success of the program, would be prepared to consider contributing additional

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(2) The Commonwealth Declaration appears as Appendix A.

(3) The communiqué from the Singapore Conference appears as Appendix B.

funds provided the Canadian 40 percent share of the total program was not exceeded. Substantial pledges were also announced by Britain and by Singapore. During the final day, heads of government also agreed to a modest information program, and approved reasonable expansion of the activities of the Commonwealth Foundation established five years ago to promote contacts and exchanges between professional and technical associations of members countries at the non-governmental level. Moderate progress was also registered in the area of education, youth exchanges and the establishment of a book-development and gift-voucher scheme.

The Singapore conference provided clear evidence that members still found it in their interest to continue the Commonwealth association. Some modest new programs were initiated and existing ones were expanded to meet the demonstrated needs of the members. As Mr. Trudeau observed, while Canada could get along without the Commonwealth it could not get along nearly so well:

No problems would be solved by the break-up of the association; not one member would find it easier to advance its own interests in its absence. The Commonwealth benefits all members and harms none. It is my firm expectation that with the help of the important Commonwealth Declaration the association will prove to be a major contributor to the enrichment of human relations. Commonwealth members share a common language. Even more important, they share a common idiom. In the result, there is permitted an informality of encounter and a meeting of minds that surely must be the envy of other countries. <sup>(4)</sup>

## APPENDIX A COMMONWEALTH DECLARATION

The Commonwealth of Nations is a voluntary association of independent sovereign states, each responsible for its own policies, consulting and co-operating in the common interests of their peoples and in the promotion of international understanding and world peace.

Members of the Commonwealth come from territories in the six continents and five oceans, include peoples of different races, languages and religions, and display every stage of economic development from poor developing nations to wealthy industrialized nations. They encompass a rich variety of cultures, traditions and institutions. Membership of the Commonwealth is compatible with the freedom of member governments to be non-aligned or to belong to any other grouping, association or alliance.

Within this diversity all members of the Commonwealth hold certain principles in common. It is by pursuing these principles that the Commonwealth can continue to influence international society for the benefit of mankind.

WE BELIEVE that international peace and order are essential to the security and prosperity of mankind; we therefore support the United Nations and seek to strengthen its influence for peace in the world, and its efforts to remove the causes of tension between nations.

WE BELIEVE in the liberty of the individual, in equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political belief, and in their inalienable right

(4) An article on Mr. Trudeau's visits to a number of Asian countries during his presence in the Near and Far East will appear in the April issue of *External Affairs*.



to participate by means of free and democratic political processes in framing the society in which they live. We therefore strive to promote in each of our countries those representative institutions and guarantees for personal freedom under the law that are our common heritage.

WE RECOGNIZE racial prejudice as a dangerous sickness threatening the healthy development of the human race and racial discrimination as an unmitigated evil of society. Each of us will vigorously combat this evil within our own nation. No country will afford to regimes which practise racial discrimination assistance which in its own judgment directly contributes to the pursuit or consolidation of this evil policy. We oppose all forms of colonial domination and racial oppression and are committed to the principles of human dignity and equality. We will therefore use all our efforts to foster human equality and dignity everywhere and to further the principles of self-determination and non-racialism.

WE BELIEVE that the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated; they also create world tensions; our aim is their progressive removal; we therefore seek to use our efforts to overcome poverty, ignorance and disease, in raising standards of life and achieving a more equitable international society. To this end our aim is to achieve the freest possible flow of international trade on terms fair and equitable to all, taking into account the special requirements of the developing countries, and to encourage the flow of adequate resources, including governmental and private resources, to the developing countries, bearing in mind the importance of doing this in a true spirit of partnership and of establishing for this purpose in the developing countries conditions which are conducive to sustained investment and growth.

WE BELIEVE that international co-operation is essential to remove the causes of war, promote tolerance, combat injustice and secure development amongst the peoples of the world; we are convinced that the Commonwealth is one of the most fruitful associations for these purposes.

In pursuing these principles the members of the Commonwealth believe that they can provide a constructive example of the multi-national approach which is vital to peace and progress in the modern world. The association is based on consultation, discussion and co-operation. In rejecting coercion as an instrument of policy they recognize that the security of each member state from external aggression is a matter of concern to all members. It provides many channels for continuing exchanges of knowledge and views on professional, cultural, economic, legal and political issues among member states. These relationships we intend to foster and extend for we believe that our multi-national association can expand human understanding and understanding among nations, assist in the elimination of discrimination based on differences of race, colour or creed, maintain and strengthen personal liberty, contribute to the enrichment of life for all, and provide a powerful influence for peace among nations.

## APPENDIX B FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Singapore from 14 to 22 January. All Commonwealth countries were represented, seven by their Presidents, seventeen

by their Prime Ministers, one by the Vice-President, and six by senior Ministers. The Prime Minister of Singapore was in the Chair.

2. This was the first Heads' of Government Meeting to be held in Asia. Heads of Government welcomed this and expressed gratitude to the Government of Singapore for the hospitality it had provided.

3. The Meeting expressed a warm greeting to the Prime Ministers of Tonga, Western Samoa and Fiji whose countries had become members of the Commonwealth during 1970, and particularly welcomed their membership as it brought to Commonwealth consultations additional views of the peoples of the Southwest Pacific.

#### Commonwealth Declaration

4. Heads of Government approved unanimously and issued a Commonwealth Declaration.

#### International Affairs

5. Heads of Government reviewed the world political situation and trends. Views were exchanged on: East-West relations; Chinese representation in the United Nations; the steps required to end the conflict in Indochina; the neutralization of Southeast Asia; the conditions necessary for achieving a durable settlement in the Middle East; the violation of the security and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea by the military and naval forces of Portugal in conjunction with other elements; the need for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the conclusion of collateral measures with particular attention to nuclear disarmament until general and complete disarmament is achieved; the staging of nuclear weapons tests and the dumping of chemical weapons in the peaceful Southwest Pacific area; and the complementary role of regional organizations and such trans-regional groupings as the Commonwealth.

#### Southern Africa

6. The Meeting reviewed major developments in Southern Africa, including in particular those in South Africa and Namibia (South West Africa), the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia, and noted that tensions in that region were likely to increase rather than decrease unless there were fundamental changes in the conditions now prevailing. Earlier discussions on NIBMR were recalled. There was unanimous reaffirmation of the importance of the principle that any proposals for settlement must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

7. The Meeting had before it the report of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee which reviewed the working of economic sanctions over the last two years. Heads of Government authorized the Committee to continue to review the situation.

8. Heads of Government discussed fully the question of the sale of arms to South Africa.

9. Heads of Government considered the factors affecting the security of maritime trade routes in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans, which are of vital importance for a large number of Commonwealth countries. They decided to set up a Study Group, consisting of representatives of Australia, Britain, Canada, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia and Nigeria, with instructions to consider the question further and report to them through the Secretary-General as soon as possible.

10. Certain Heads of Government stipulated the understandings on which they agreed to support the proposal to set up the Study Group.

## The Security of the Indian Ocean

11. In their discussion of a paper presented by the Prime Minister of Ceylon on the security of the Indian Ocean, Heads of Government agreed on the desirability of ensuring that it remains an area of peace and stability.

### Economics Affairs

12. Heads of Government held a full and frank discussion on the world economic situation and broadly reviewed recent developments and trends. Among the items discussed were: liberalization of trade and access to markets; the special problems relating to exports of developing countries; the generalized preferences system and the problems connected with it; international commodity problems; high freight-rates, inflation and its consequences; debt-servicing problems of developing countries; targets for the transfer of resources to developing countries; terms and conditions of assistance, including the untying of aid; supplementary financing; the possibility of a link between Special Drawing Rights and development finance; and, the lending policies of international financial institutions.

13. Heads of Government expressed their satisfaction that agreement was reached on the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade at the United Nations General Assembly. They reaffirmed their Governments' resolve to take the measures to translate into reality the goals and objectives of the Decade. In summarizing their discussions, they also reaffirmed their conviction that fulfilment of the economic and social aspirations of the peoples of the developing countries was a matter of vital concern not only to the developing nations but to the world at large.

### Possible British Entry into the EEC

14. Heads of Government discussed Britain's possible entry into the European Economic Community and the implications of this for other Commonwealth members. Among the matters discussed were the questions of: the effect of the Common Agricultural Policy on the exports of Britain's traditional suppliers; the need for any enlarged Community to be outward-looking; standstill arrangements for those countries which desired or may be offered association or other trading arrangements with an enlarged Community; reverse preferences and their impact on international trading arrangements; the potential advantages and disadvantages for the Commonwealth in the event of Britain's accession; and methods of consultation during negotiations. They welcomed the resolve of the British Government to continue to press during the negotiations for measures to safeguard the interests of Commonwealth countries.

### Commonwealth Co-operation for Development

15. Heads of Government welcomed the establishment of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation and noted that the way was now open for it to be made operational.

16. Heads of Government discussed the recommendations embodied in a study on Commonwealth Export Market Development. They decided that these recommendations should be given further consideration at an early meeting of trade and finance officials.

### Commonwealth Information Program

17. Heads of Government agreed in principle on the proposals submitted to them for a Commonwealth Information Program.



## Commonwealth Co-operation on Youth Questions

18. Heads of Government noted with approval the Secretariat's activities in the youth field and agreed that such activities be expanded. They noted that a number of related matters would be discussed at the forthcoming Commonwealth Education Conference in Canberra. They decided that a meeting of Ministers concerned with Youth matters be convened as early as possible.

## Commonwealth Book-Development and Gift-Voucher Scheme

19. Heads of Government approved in principle the establishment of a Commonwealth Book-Voucher Scheme.

Special Commonwealth Program for Assisting the Education of Rhodesian Africans.

20. Heads of Government took note of the development of the program and supported its continuation.

## Commonwealth Foundation

21. Heads of Government noted the progress of the Commonwealth Foundation and agreed to its proposed expansion.

## Comparative Techniques of Government

22. The Conference agreed that the item on "Comparative Techniques of Government", which was introduced by the Prime Minister of Canada, should be the subject of further discussion at the next meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government. It was proposed that the Secretary-General should facilitate such discussion by arranging for preliminary study of the subject by appropriate officials.

## Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General

23. Heads of Government took note of the Third Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

## Canada and the Soviet Union

### AGREEMENT ON CO-OPERATION IN INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



*The Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, and the Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., V. A. Kirillin, sign the Canada-U.S.S.R. Agreement on Co-operation in the Industrial Application of Science and Technology in Moscow.*

ON January 27, 1971, in Moscow, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, signed for Canada an agreement with the U.S.S.R. for co-operation in the industrial application of science and technology. Signing for the U.S.S.R. at the ceremony was Mr. V. A. Kirillin, a Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Science and Technology.

The agreement reflects the interest of the Governments of Canada and the Soviet Union in increasing contacts between the two countries. It is intended to promote mutually-advantageous exchanges of industrial technology and will involve the participation on the Canadian side of both government and private industry. The two ministers, when they signed the pact, also confirmed the intention of their governments to go on later to conclude a general agreement to provide a framework for the expansion of further exchanges in such areas as culture, education and the arts and sciences.

Implementation of the industrial exchanges agreement is in the hands of a Canada-U.S.S.R. Mixed Commission, which met for the first time in Moscow on the day following signature. Mr. Pepin led the Canadian section, which included the Canadian Ambassador to the Soviet Union and senior representatives of nine government departments and agencies, as well as senior officers of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Export Association, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and several industrial associations and leading corporations, both public and private. The Soviet section, headed by Mr. L. N. Yefremov, First Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Science and Technology, included senior officials of several Soviet ministries, committees and agencies.

### **Working Groups Set Up**

Following discussions between the two sections, which included calls by the Canadians on various agencies and visits to some industrial enterprises, the Commission decided to establish joint working groups in six industrial sectors. They will have members from both industry and government and will be charged with organizing practical co-operation and exchanges between Canadian and Soviet organizations and industrial enterprises in the following fields:

- (1) architecture, construction and building materials;
- (2) forest-based industry;
- (3) the non-ferrous metals industry;
- (4) the electric-power industry;
- (5) the oil industry;
- (6) the gas industry.

These working groups are expected to hold their first meetings this spring to begin working out programs for co-operation.

The Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, in tabling in the House of Commons on February 4 the text of the agreement and of the protocol resulting from the Mixed Commission meeting, mentioned certain special features that emerged from the discussion in Moscow of areas of interest to the working groups:

- (1) Problems arising from severe climatic and permafrost conditions are of considerable interest to both countries and have been identified for study by the working groups in construction, electric power, the oil industry and the gas industry.
- (2) The naming of the six working groups does not exhaust the areas of possible co-operation in the industrial application of science and technology. In addition to these working groups, other contacts will continue, and further working groups may be established by mutual agreement.

In the course of the work of the Commission, representatives of both sides expressed the hope that the agreement would favour the expansion of existing



contacts and lay the basis for new ones between the business communities in both countries, promote an increase in the volume and categories of bilateral trade, and encourage the development of other forms of economic and technological co-operation.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Pepin said that the co-operation the agreement would encourage

could take the form of exchanges of information and visits of businessmen and experts. It could also lead to licencing agreements in specific areas of technology. It might lead to all kinds of "joint ventures". I suggest it will also lead to increases in two-way trade between the two countries.

He noted that the Canadians had been greeted warmly in the Soviet Union and had held constructive discussions that "everything seems to indicate . . . will lead to mutual benefits". He also told the House that the next meeting of the Mixed Commission would be held in Ottawa early in 1972.

While in Moscow, Mr. Pepin met separately with Mr. N. S. Patolichev, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade. They reviewed trade developments and prospects for the further expansion of trade. He also called on Mr. D. S. Polyansky, Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, who had twice visited Canada, and discussed with him the broad range of relations between Canada and the Soviet Union.

# *The International Telecommunications Consortium*

## NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PERMANENT ORGANIZATION <sup>(1)</sup>

OVER the past two years, states belonging to the International Telecommunications Consortium (INTELSAT) have been engaged in negotiating definitive arrangements to replace the interim agreements that have provided the operating basis for INTELSAT since its inception in August 1964. INTELSAT, a co-operative enterprise combining governmental and commercial functions, was established for the purpose of developing and operating a commercial communications-satellite system to provide expanded telecommunications service to all parts of the world. This purpose has been largely realized through the successful positioning and operation of communications satellites over the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans.

The INTELSAT interim arrangements comprise two international instruments:

- (i) an agreement establishing interim arrangements for a global commercial communications-satellite system; and
- (ii) a special agreement (together with a supplementary agreement on arbitration).

The first of these documents, constituting an intergovernmental agreement, sets forth basic principles and organizational guidelines pursuant to which designated entities from participating states are to establish and operate a global satellite system. The special agreement, signed by designated communications entities of participating governments, or in a few cases by governments themselves (the Canadian signatory to the special agreement was the Canadian Overseas Telecommunications Corporation), deals with the financial and operational aspects of INTELSAT, including such matters as the sharing of costs and revenue, the establishment of charges for the use of the satellites, procurement policies and procedure, rights concerning inventions and technical data, and numerous provisions relating to the functions and duties of the Interim Communications Satellite Committee (the government body of the Consortium) and the manager. By the terms of the intergovernmental agreement, the space segment or satellites are owned in undivided shares by the signatories to the special agreement in proportion to their respective contributions to the cost of the space segment. The structure of INTELSAT is that of a joint venture. There is a governing body, the Interim Communications Satellite Committee, that has responsibility for all policies and decisions of the organization. The Communication Satellite Corporation (COMSAT), which is the designated

(1) This is the eighth in a series of articles appearing monthly in *External Affairs* dealing with the work of the Legal Division of the Department of External Affairs.

entity of the United States in INTELSAT, also serves in the capacity of manager for the Consortium.

However, the interim structure of INTELSAT must be superseded, as is provided in the interim agreements, by a permanent organization that takes account of the greatly expanded membership of INTELSAT and the resultant need for increased internationalization of the direction and control of the global enterprise, including greater independence of the managerial function.

### **Growth of Consortium**

Few can deny that INTELSAT has, on the basis of the interim arrangements, contributed significantly to the extension and improvement of communications among nations on a global basis and to the reduction of its costs. The Consortium has grown to a membership of 77 states (from a founding membership of 18) representing not only the major users of telecommunications facilities but also a substantial number of developing countries, which have perhaps most to gain ultimately from this new technology. The commercial satellite-communication service begun across the Atlantic with the "Early Bird" satellite has been extended throughout the world with subsequent generations of satellites and has continuously developed and improved. Approximately half the transatlantic telephone messages now go by satellite. New services, such as intercontinental television, have begun to emerge and a wider range of services, including computer-to-computer communications and aeronautical communications, is envisaged.

While these impressive results were being achieved, there was at the same time a developing feeling among states parties to the interim agreements of fairly widespread dissatisfaction with what they considered was the marked imbalance in the structure and allocation of power in the Consortium. Sharply conflicting views on these and related issues characterized the first round of negotiations in February 1969, which brought together representatives and observers from some 100 states and international organizations. A number of crucial issues relating to the status, structure, scope and purpose of INTELSAT emerged at the conference, and divergent views on these impeded the development of any broad agreement. A preparatory committee of plenary met on three occasions during 1969 in an attempt to clarify and reconcile the major points of difference. Its report was the basic document before the second plenary in February 1970, which was able, after some five weeks of negotiation, to record some progress towards compromise provisions relating to the definitive structure of INTELSAT. An intersessional working group met on three occasions in Washington during 1970 to consolidate the work of the February plenary by reducing to draft-treaty language those provisions on which some consensus had emerged and attempt to broaden the area of compromise on other key issues, thus paving the way for a third and, it is hoped, final plenary conference in April of this year.



INTELSAT is a unique development in international co-operation and organization. It has combined governments and commercial entities, to an unprecedented degree, in a global enterprise to use and exploit a new form of communications. As a result, the negotiations for the definitive arrangements have given rise to a wide range of political and economic issues, as well as questions of public international law, treaty procedure and international organization.

### **Vital Problems Posed**

Some of the more crucial questions arising from the INTELSAT negotiations are:

- (1) What organizational structure will best ensure the full participation of all members in the operation of the telecommunications system, while, at the same time, preserving the commercial efficiency of INTELSAT? More particularly, what role should governments play in the operation of the system and to what extent should the major investors control the policy and decision-making functions of the organization?
- (2) Should there be an international manager as an integral part of the INTELSAT organization or should this function continue to be exercised by COMSAT, the U.S.-designated entity in the system?
- (3) To what extent should domestic or regional satellite systems outside the INTELSAT framework be co-ordinated with INTELSAT?
- (4) To what extent will INTELSAT, the states parties or designated entities, be liable for damages to third parties arising out of the operation of the telecommunications system and what bearing will the Outer Space Treaty and discussions in the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space have on this question?
- (5) Should the principle of unanimity apply to the supersession of the interim agreements and, if not, what measures must be taken to protect the investment interest of parties to the interim agreements who do not subscribe to the definitive agreements?
- (6) What special approaches are required to amendment procedures and settlement of dispute provisions to take account of the two levels of participation, governmental and commercial, in INTELSAT?

Some of the above issues have been resolved, but many are still the subject of diverse views among INTELSAT members. Their final resolution will be the task of the renewed plenary conference in April.



#### CANADA'S EMBASSY IN PEKING

*Mr. J. M. Fraser, Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the first Canadian Embassy in Peking, appears (right) with members of his staff in front of the Canadian Chancery. The Chancery is located on a one-acre plot in the diplomatic area of San Li Tun and is bounded on one side by the Embassy of Hungary and on the other by the Embassy of Nepal.*

*The main party of the basic staff of the Embassy arrived in Peking on January 11 and the Chancery officially opened for business on February 1, 1971, about four months after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Canada and the People's Republic of China.*

# *Organizing a Foreign Policy for the Seventies*

IN the official paper *Foreign Policy for Canadians*, which was published as a result of the recent Government review of foreign policy, the section titled "Organizing for the Seventies" suggested the kind of organization necessary to carry out Government policy in the Seventies and after in the following words:

To meet the challenges of the coming decades, to be equipped to take advantage of new opportunities, to keep abreast of the rapid evolution of events, the Government needs a strong and flexible organization for carrying out its reshaped foreign policy. The pace of change renders more complex and urgent the problems of planning and implementing a coherent policy aligned with national aims. New staffing structures and modern management techniques are called for. <sup>(1)</sup>

With respect to new staffing structures and modern management techniques, further direction was provided in this statement:

The Government has decided that there should be maximum integration in its foreign operations that will effectively contribute to the achievement of national objectives. <sup>(2)</sup>

The paper recognized, however, that movement toward maximum integration in foreign operations consistent with the most effective achievement of governmental objectives could not be accomplished overnight and that it should not proceed in a way that would impair the standard of service now provided abroad:

An integrated management system cannot be established immediately or easily. Each theoretical step leading towards the goal of integration must be evaluated, tested and transformed into practical reality without impairing the quality of service available to the Government and the Canadian people from established foreign operations. The new system must be developed harmoniously and above all keep its capacity for adapting to an evolving international situation. <sup>(3)</sup>

The purpose of this article is to outline the steps being taken to develop the "strong and flexible organization" the Government needs to carry out its foreign policy.

## **Work on Organization Starts**

The initial work began in October 1969 with the creation of a task force on the consolidation of personnel and support services abroad under the chairmanship of Mr. Sidney Pierce, a public servant with years of experience in the Departments of Trade and Commerce and External Affairs. The task force submitted its report at the end of March 1970. At about the same time, the series of intensive studies of Canadian foreign policy that culminated in the publication of *Foreign Policy for Canadians* was under way. It was, therefore, possible for the Government to relate policy considerations to those of an operational and administrative nature. In June 1970, it was announced that the Government had decided that steps should be taken immediately leading in the direction of

(1) *Foreign Policy for Canadians*, P. 39.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Foreign Policy for Canadians*, Pp. 39-40.



the integration of its operations. The precise nature and timing of integration including such matters as possible legislative changes and the formation of a single foreign service, were reserved for later consideration. It was, however, made clear that the Government's objective was the maximum degree of integration of its foreign operations consistent with the most effective achievement of governmental objectives.

To guide in the achievement of these ends an Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations (ICER) was established, comprising representatives of those departments with major foreign operations. The ICER is under the chairmanship of the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. A. J. Ritchie. Other regular members of the ICER are the Deputy Minister of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Deputy Minister of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, the President, Canadian International Development Agency, the Secretary of the Treasury Board, a Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet, and the Deputy Minister of the Department of Public Works. The ICER serves as the forum for consultation between all departments affected by proposals for the integration of foreign operations, and it is in this committee that problems relating to these proposals are worked out. The first areas selected for examination and study by the ICER were the integration and rationalization of support services and the development of the country programming system for foreign operations.

In addition to establishing the Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations, the Government provided for the creation of a subcommittee of the ICER known as the Personnel Management Committee (PMC), the composition and function of which will be discussed later in this article, and an interdepartmental task force to examine the means to integrate the support services for foreign operations as well as the implications for domestic organization of integrating these services. This body was directed to render its reports to the ICER which it did in July 1970.

### **Support Responsibilities for External Affairs**

Following a period of further study by the ICER of the report of the interdepartmental task force on administrative support services, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, announced on January 19, 1971, the Government's decision to make the Department of External Affairs responsible for the provision of support services for most of the Government departments and agencies at all diplomatic posts and consular posts, and at most of its offices abroad, effective April 1, 1971. The integration of support services involves financial and personnel administration as it applies to support service personnel; the management of properties, supplies, equipment and material; travel arrangements and the provision of clerical, stenographic and certain translation services.

The approach to the integration of support services has assumed a ve

pragmatic character. In announcing the Government's decision, Mr. Sharp stated:

Any organizational changes arising from this integration of services will be made over a period of time as it becomes evident that such changes would increase efficiency and effectiveness. A substantial step for the reorganization and rationalization into a single support services system will occur with the transfer of responsibility and resources on April 1 to External Affairs. The quality of service now available to the Canadian Government and people will be maintained and improved.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs also noted that the integration of support services on April 1, 1971, did not include all the employees of the Government engaged in a supporting role in foreign operations. Those persons employed in support of operational military forces, and employees of agency corporations such as Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. and proprietary corporations such as Air Canada, the CBC and Polymer Limited, have not been included.

### **Advisory Role for ICER**

In its terms of reference, the ICER has been directed to advise the Government on "the formulation of broad policy for foreign operations", the "harmonization of departments' country plans", and on the "allocation of resources for foreign operations". In order to develop this advisory capability, the ICER has instituted studies of procedures that will enable the Government to co-ordinate more effectively the policies of all departments and agencies as they relate to foreign operations and co-ordinate the plans and resources to carry out these policies. These studies include an examination of the possibility of the development of a comprehensive country-programming system.

As indicated earlier, the personnel-management aspects of integration are the responsibility of the Personnel Management Committee. The PMC is chaired by Mr. H. M. Maddick, General Director of the Trade Commissioner Service, and comprises representatives at the assistant deputy minister level from the Department of External Affairs, the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce and the Department of Manpower and Immigration, as well as senior officials from the Canadian International Development Agency, the Privy Council Office, the Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board. This Committee is assisted by the Secretariat, which also supports the ICER. The primary responsibilities of the Personnel Management Committee are, first, to provide advice on staffing at posts and, second, to develop co-ordinated and ultimately common policies on recruiting, career development, classification, evaluation and evaluation standards, pay and allowances and diplomatic designation.

### **Personnel-Management Policies**

Work on the development of suitable personnel-management policies is being done on behalf of the Personnel Management Committee by the departments and agencies represented on the Committee, with assistance from the Secretariat of the ICER. The PMC has also launched a study aimed at the development of a

policy and program for secondments and exchanges of personnel, in both directions, between the foreign service and other parts of the Public Service, the Canadian business and academic communities, other organizations in Canada and international institutions. The purposes of this program are, first, to ensure that personnel in the major foreign service departments remain in close contact with the policies and points of view of departments and agencies that are concerned primarily with domestic matters and to ensure also that these departments and agencies are equally aware of the constraints on policy that arise from events in foreign countries and developments in international relations generally that are relevant to the Government's programs and objectives; and, second, to provide increased opportunities for public service personnel to keep in touch with different communities and institutions in Canada and with international organizations.

The approach of the Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations to the tasks assigned to it by the Government was well expressed in a letter of June 24, 1970, sent jointly by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Deputy Ministers of Industry, Trade and Commerce and Manpower and Immigration, and the Vice-President of the Canadian International Development Agency to their foreign service personnel abroad, which said, in part:

As we advance towards the Government's objective of effectively integrated foreign operations, each step must be planned with due deliberation to ensure that it is sound and will strengthen the quality both of the program and of the foreign service responsible for conducting it. The task of converting the concept of integration into effective reality presents all of us at home and abroad with an important responsibility which we are confident will be taken up as a new and interesting challenge by every person engaged in the foreign service of Canada.



## *Signing of the Seabed Treaty*

CANADA participated in special ceremonies held on February 11, 1971, in London, Moscow and Washington marking the opening for signature of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean-Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, usually referred to as the seabed arms-control treaty. Prime Minister Heath, Premier Kosygin and President Nixon presided over the ceremonies in their respective capitals, while Canada and other states were represented by their ambassadors, high commissioners or acting heads of post. Canada joined some 60 other countries in signing the treaty on the first day that it was open for signature. It will come into force when it has been ratified by 22 governments, including those of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain.

The seabed arms-control treaty is the culmination of two years of negotiations in the Geneva Disarmament Committee, in which Canada played a prominent part. The treaty bars "any nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction as well as structures, launching installations or any facilities specifically designed for storing, testing or using such weapons" from the



*The Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Marcel Cadieux, signs the seabed arms-control treaty on behalf of Canada in the International Conference Room in Washington. Seated behind Mr. Cadieux is the United States Secretary of Defence, Mr. Melvin Laird.*

seabed beyond a 12-mile coastal zone. Reflecting a growing recognition by the international community that the ocean-floor has become both increasingly accessible and increasingly important to mankind, the seabed arms-control treaty constitutes a significant first step in preventing a nuclear-arms race on the seabed and ocean-floor.

The treaty's verification procedures, which were developed in part from Canadian proposals, establish new criteria for international participation. Under the terms of the convention, each party has the right to verify the activities of other parties on the seabed provided that the observation does not interfere with their activities. In the event that verification by observation and inspection fails to resolve doubts about compliance with the treaty, the matter can be put before the United Nations Security Council. There is also provision for states to seek full or partial assistance through international procedures within the framework of the United Nations to ascertain whether or not the treaty is being respected. The latter provision establishes in principle that any breach of the treaty is the concern of the international community to the point where it can be asked to organize the actual inspection. This should enhance the stature of the United Nations and ensure for the less-developed states access to the necessary undersea technological expertise.

## Canadian-Polish Relations

AT the invitation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, His Excellency Stefan Jedrychowski, Foreign Minister of Poland, paid an official visit to Canada from October 11 to 14, 1970. Mr. Jedrychowski's visit was in return for an official visit to Poland in 1966 by Senator Paul Martin, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, and was the first official visit made to Canada by a Polish Foreign Minister. During his stay in Ottawa, Mr. Jedrychowski had talks with Mr. Sharp, as well as with the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin. He also called on Governor-General Roland Michener and the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Honourable Lucien Lamoureux.

Much of the emphasis in the official talks was on bilateral questions, notably those of trade; co-operation in science and technology was also discussed. Mr. Jedrychowski also indicated during the talks that a settlement of the long-outstanding claims issue was to be expected. Polish-Canadian collaboration within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) with a view to eliminating discriminatory restrictions on trade was cited as a good example of fruitful co-operation. Broader international questions, such as *détente* in Europe



*The new Chancery of the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw.*



and the various proposals for a European Security Conference, were discussed. Mr. Jedrychowski later described the exchange of views in Ottawa as having been "constructive and useful".

### **Mr. Drury in Warsaw**

On October 29, two weeks after Mr. Jedrychowski's visit to Canada, the Honourable C. M. Drury, President of the Treasury Board, officiated at the opening of the new Chancery building of the Canadian Embassy in Warsaw. Mr. Drury was well-remembered in Warsaw from his service there as the Administrator in Poland of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency from 1945 to 1947. Mr. and Mrs. Drury were accompanied to Warsaw by several leading members of the Polish-Canadian community, who also attended the inaugural ceremony, at which Mr. Jedrychowski was among the guests of honour.

The new Chancery, the construction of which started in the autumn of 1967, is a fine example of Polish-Canadian co-operation. Architects and engineers for the project were the Winnipeg firm of Smith, Carter, Parkin. The Polish contractor was BUDIMEX, and the building works were carried out by P. B. M. Poludnie. While the general architectural design emphasizes contemporary Canadian architectural expression, the building was constructed by Polish workmen and artisans.

The opening of the new Chancery by Mr. Drury and the visit to Canada of Mr. Jedrychowski, which was preceded by the September 1970 visit of the Polish Minister of Food Industry and Procurement, Mr. Gucwa, reflect the desire of both countries to develop relations on a basis of co-operation and mutual benefit.



#### *AIR SERVICES AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL*

*An Air Services Agreement with the Government of Israel was signed in Ottawa on February 10, 1971, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, on behalf of the Government of Canada and by His Excellency Ephraim Evron, Ambassador of Israel to Canada.*

*The Agreement provides for the operation of scheduled air services between Canada and Israel via intermediate points in Europe. The designated carriers are Canadian Pacific Air and El Al Israel Airlines.*

*Services are to be inaugurated at the end of March, with the two carriers offering a total of five round-trips a week, increasing to eight round-trips a week by the end of April.*

## *Canada and the University of the West Indies*

ON February 4, 1971, the High Commissioner for Canada in Barbados (resident in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago) formally transferred to the University of the West Indies the completed Hall of Residence at the Cave Hill Campus (Barbados). The ceremony marked a further step in the disbursement of the Canadian Government's commitment of \$5 million, made in 1966, to the UWI for the period 1966-71. The Hall represents the latest building project undertaken through the co-operative efforts of Canada, the UWI and the recipient Commonwealth Caribbean countries. Previous capital projects completed on behalf of the University include erection of buildings in Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Jamaica and an extension in Grenada at a total cost to Canada of \$1,760,000, inclusive of the recent expenditure for the Hall of Residence. The balance of the \$5-million Canadian contribution has been directed to scholarships, fellowships and a visiting lecturers' program over the five-year period, which saw an investment of 91 man-years by Canadian academics.

Discussions between the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), as the Agency responsible for implementation of Canada's program of assistance abroad, and the University of the West Indies have been held and will continue to be held on co-operation in the area.



*At the Cave Hill Campus (Barbados) of the University of the West Indies, the Chancellor, Her Royal Highness Princess Alice, accepts from Canada's High Commissioner in Barbados, Mr. G. A. Rau, the gift of a newly-opened Hall of Residence. The Vice-Chancellor of the UWI, Dr. O. R. Marshall, looks on. The presentation plaque can be seen on the wall.*



## *Important Manuscript to External Affairs*

ON February 15, 1971, Dr. H. Gordon Skilling, Director of the Research Centre for Russian and East European studies at the University of Toronto, presented to the Department of External Affairs for its Archives the original manuscript of his book *Canadian Representation Abroad*<sup>(1)</sup> on the history of the Department and its development through the war years. The manuscript contains notations and suggestions from a number of senior Departmental officers, together with letters from some of them whom the author consulted during his research for this work. The contributions from men such as Mr. L. B. Pearson, the late Norman A. Robertson and H. Hume Wrong, add a great deal of historical interest to the manuscript Dr. Skilling has generously donated to the Department.



At the presentation of the manuscript (left to right): Mr. Gordon W. Hilborn, Deputy Director, Historical Division; Mr. Arthur Blanchette, Director, Historical Division; Dr. Skilling; Mr. Jean-Louis Delisle, Director, Academic Relations Division.

(1) H. G. Skilling, *Canadian Representation Abroad: From Agency to Embassy* (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1945)

## CONFERENCES

- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, resumed tenth session: Geneva, March 1-5.  
UN Commission for Social Development, twenty-first session: New York, March 1-19.  
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, twenty-seventh session: Manila, March/April.  
WMO Sixth World Meteorological Congress: Geneva, April 5-30.  
UNICEF Executive Board: Geneva, April 13-29.  
Plenipotentiary Conference on Definitive Arrangements for the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium: Washington, April 14-mid May.  
Economic Commission for Europe, twenty-sixth session: Geneva, April 19-30.  
ECOSOC, fiftieth session: New York, April 26 - May 21.  
Economic Commission for Latin America: Santiago, April 27 - May 7.  
UNESCO Executive Board, eighty-seventh session: Paris, April/May.  
ITU Administrative Council: Geneva, May 1-21.  
World Health Assembly, meeting of Commonwealth delegates: Geneva, May 3.  
WHO, World Health Assembly, twenty-fourth session: Geneva, May 4-28.  
UPU Executive Council: Berne, May 20-28.  
UNIDO Industrial Development Board: Vienna, May.  
UNIDO Special International Conference: Vienna, May - June.  
International Narcotics Control Board: Geneva, May - June.  
Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council: Lisbon, June 3-4.  
ILO Conference: Geneva, June.  
UNDP Governing Council: Geneva, June.  
ICAO Assembly: Vienna, June 15 - July 15.  
World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing: Vancouver, July 5-16.  
International Federation for Information Processing, fifth congress: Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, August 23-28.  
Fourth Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, September 6-16.  
Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting: Nassau, September 22-23.  
Fifteenth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency: Vienna, September 23-30.  
Third Commonwealth Medical Conference: Mauritius, November.

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## *The Prime Minister's Asian Tour*

ON his way to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference<sup>(1)</sup> held in Singapore from January 14 to 22 and on his return journey, Prime Minister Trudeau took the opportunity of visiting four Asian countries. On the way to the meeting, he visited Pakistan and India, the two largest Commonwealth countries in Asia. On his way home, he visited Indonesia and Ceylon. On January 6, the Prime Minister boarded a Boeing 707 of the Canadian Armed Forces, accompanied by his Parliamentary Secretary, members of his staff, and a group of officials and press, radio and television representatives. The plane made a brief refuelling stop at the Canadian Armed Forces Base at Lahr, West Germany, and arrived at Rawalpindi, Pakistan, in the late afternoon of January 6.

### **Pakistan (January 6-9)**

On his arrival in Islamabad, the new capital of Pakistan, the Prime Minister was met by the President, General Yahya Khan, and a guard of honour, which



*Prime Minister Trudeau and his Parliamentary Secretary, Mr. Barnett Danson, with Mr. Usmani, Chairman of the Pakistani Atomic Energy Commission, and His Excellency M. S. Shaikh, High Commissioner of Pakistan to Canada.*

(1) An account of the Conference can be found in the March issue of *External Affairs*.

he inspected before being escorted to the presidential guest-house. His program in Pakistan included talks with Government leaders, a speech at a state dinner, a press conference and the laying of a wreath at the mausoleum of the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The official talks covered a wide range of subjects of mutual interest centring on the agenda of the Commonwealth Conference, political developments in Asia and adjacent areas and bilateral assistance.

During his stay in Pakistan, Mr. Trudeau unveiled a plaque commemorating his visit to the construction site of the new Canadian High Commission complex located in Islamabad. Following this ceremony and an informal address to members of a Pakistan-Canada friendship club, the Prime Minister attended a reception where he met Canadians employed in the Islamabad/Rawalpindi region of West Pakistan as well as the families of engineers on the staff of the hydro development project of Tarbela.

After touring the archaeological diggings at Taxila, the Prime Minister travelled to Karachi for an overnight stay in Pakistan's largest commercial and industrial centre and the former capital of this Moslem state. Next day he was shown round the KANUPP nuclear-power plant located on the shores of the Arabian Sea near Karachi. Here again, he had the opportunity to meet the families of Canadians employed at the plant, which is a good example of co-operation in development between two Commonwealth countries.



*The Prime Minister inaugurates a village irrigation project at Umraha, India.*

### **India (January 9-13)**

From Karachi the Prime Minister flew to Agra, some 110 miles south of New Delhi. After a weekend of visits to temples and architectural monuments such as the Taj Mahal, the Prime Minister left Agra in an Indian Air Force plane for the holy city of Benares, now called Varanasi. There, he visited the museum and temple at Sarnath, where the Buddha is said to have preached his first sermon. Next morning he was enthusiastically welcomed by the villagers of Umraha, where he inspected examples of development work in agriculture and handicrafts and inaugurated an irrigation well. He also visited a diesel-electric locomotive plant that illustrates India's progress toward industrialization.

Mr. Trudeau next flew to New Delhi, where he was welcomed by the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and accorded full military honours. He was the guest of Mr. V. M. Giri, President of India, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, the presidential residence. During his stay in the Indian capital, the Prime Minister laid a wreath at Raj Ghat, the cremation site and memorial to Mahatma Gandhi, held wide-ranging discussions with Prime Minister Gandhi, had an exchange of views with students of Nehru University, and gave a press conference.

The talks between the two Prime Ministers covered a number of topics of mutual interest, including the security of the Indian Ocean, the question of arms sales to South Africa, relations with China and bilateral matters relating to trade, economic assistance and nuclear co-operation.

### **Singapore and Malayasia (January 13-22)**

In Singapore, the Prime Minister attended all Conference sessions as well as most official functions connected with the Commonwealth heads of government meeting. He did find time, however, to renew his acquaintance with the "Lion City", which he had visited in May 1970. Some of the highlights of his stay in Singapore included a visit to a school at Boys Town and a reception at which he met Canadians living in the area. During the weekend recess of the Conference he visited Sabah on the island of Borneo, where he inspected the work of Canadians employed on several development-assistance projects located in the Malaysian state.

### **Indonesia (January 22-25)**

After the Conference the Prime Minister's party flew to Indonesia, the only non-Commonwealth country Mr. Trudeau visited at this time. His aircraft taxied up to the reviewing-stand to the reverberation of a 19-gun salute. The Prime Minister was welcomed by President Suharto, who escorted him through streets of downtown Djakarta to the state guest-house, Wisma Negara. Thousands of cheering Indonesian children lined the route from the airport. At a state banquet in his honour, the Prime Minister said that his visit to Indonesia, accompanied as he was by Canadian newsmen and photographers, would give Canadians greater opportunity to see and learn something of this country of 120 million people.





*The Prime Minister tours a workshop at Boys Town, Singapore, with the Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. John Hadwen.*

In Djakarta, Mr. Trudeau had talks with President Suharto, who reviewed the future of Indonesia, the country's economic program and its importance to internal and external security and national unity. The Prime Minister laid a wreath at the Heroes' Cemetery and toured the city with Deputy Governor Suwondo, visiting a cultural centre and a youth centre, the old market area of Batavia, urban-renewal projects and several primary schools. At an elementary school in the suburb of Kebajoran the Prime Minister made a symbolic presentation of text-books printed on paper provided under a Canadian assistance program. Later in the day, he signed a memorandum of understanding setting out Canada's intention of providing a "soft-term", interest-free loan of \$4 million for Canadian commodities required by Indonesia. This constitutes the largest single Canadian aid commitment to Indonesia. While in Djakarta, the Prime Minister also announced that the allocation of Canadian economic assistance to Indonesia for the forthcoming fiscal year would increase significantly.

On the third day of his visit, Mr. Trudeau, accompanied by Foreign Minister Lalik, flew to the historic city of Jogjakarta in Central Java, the ancient rulers' seat and the first capital of republican Indonesia. He was shown the Sultan's palace, witnessed traditional music and dancing, and the delicate craft of printing coloured designs on textiles known as *batik*. He visited the world famous eighth-

century Buddhist temple of Borobudur outside Jogjakarta. The Prime Minister then drove about 40 miles through the rice-fields within sight of the active volcano Merapi to the city of Solo, where he visited a Canadian medical team that is providing training in an integrated health-service project. This project, housed in the Municipal General Hospital, is sponsored by CARE/Medico of Canada and partially supported with a grant from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).



*The Prime Minister, His Excellency Raden Darmo Bandoro, the Indonesian Ambassador to Canada, and the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. W. T. Delworth, watch schoolchildren performing native dances at a Djakarta elementary school.*



### **Ceylon (January 25-28)**

On his arrival in Katunayaka, the Prime Minister was greeted by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, who guided him through the Bandaranaike International Airport terminal built with Canadian assistance. Before being conveyed to Temple Trees, the state guest-house, the Prime Minister unveiled a plaque to commemorate the naming of the "Canada Friendship Road", which links the airport to the highway to Colombo. Following a special performance of Ceylonese dancing, Mr. Trudeau was the guest of honour at a state dinner given by Mrs. Bandaranaike. Next day the Prime Minister had talks with his Ceylonese counterpart on questions relating to the security of the Indian Ocean, economic assistance and bilateral trade matters. Later that day he lunched and talked with youth leaders, met the Canadian community at a reception and gave a dinner for Mrs. Bandaranaike.

Next day Mr. Trudeau journeyed by rail through the lush interior of Ceylon to Kandy, where he was greeted by municipal officials and gaily-attired Kandyan dancers. He was received by the spiritual leaders of the major Buddhist sects, visited the arts-and-crafts centre and toured points of historical interest, including Mount Sigiriya, a rock fortress famous for its frescoes that dominates the central plains to the north of Kandy. He later viewed the ruins of Polonnaruwa, the ancient capital of Ceylon.



*Prime Minister Trudeau and the Honourable Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, sign the agreement for the Ceylon Mechanized Logging Project (under the terms of which Canada will provide a \$4.5-million development loan, interest free).*





*The Prime Minister and Mr. Danson greeted by dancers on their arrival in Kandy.*

### **Tehran (January 28-29)**

On his return trip to Canada, the Prime Minister made an overnight stop in Iran. He was met on arrival by Prime Minister Hoveyda of Iran, who later in the evening was host at an informal dinner for Mr. Trudeau and members of the Canadian party. Next morning, the Prime Minister was received at Niavarar Palace by His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, with whom he discussed a number of international and bilateral questions. The last lap of the flight home was interrupted by a brief stop at Lahr, where the Prime Minister was greeted by Major General Donald Laubman, Commander of Canadian Armed Forces in Europe and other senior officers. While his aircraft was being refuelled, Mr. Trudeau met Canadian servicemen and their wives and children stationed at the base.

The primary aims of the Prime Minister's Asian tour were three: to emphasize Canada's interest in Asia; to obtain, through personal contact with government leaders, officials, students and people from all walks of life, a better appreciation and understanding of their thinking and attitudes; and to focus the attention of Canadians on the importance of Canada's relations with these Asian countries, relations based on historical and cultural ties, the increase of economic exchange and co-operative efforts for peace and development.

In a statement in the House of Commons on February 1, the Prime Minister



*The Prime Minister is received by His Imperial Majesty the Shahansha at Niavaran Palace. Prime Minister Hoveyda of Iran is seated next to Mr. Trudeau.*

summed up his impressions of the tour in the following words:

"The journey to and from Singapore gave me an opportunity to travel briefly in four of the many countries which have issued invitations to visit over the past several years. Three of those countries — Pakistan, India and Ceylon — are Commonwealth members and long-time major recipients of Canadian economic assistance. Together with the journalists and photographers who accompanied me, I travelled to several of the more important of our aid projects. Through the pens and cameras of these reporters, Canadians are now more aware of the way in which Canadian funds have assisted persons less fortunate than ourselves. I found, too, that in each of those countries the earlier visits of Canadian Prime Ministers St. Laurent and Diefenbaker were well remembered . . .

"The fourth country visited was Indonesia, the giant of Southeast Asia, which Canada has recently named as a country of concentration for our aid program and one of whose outstanding citizens, General Nasution, will soon come to Canada as your guest, Mr. Speaker.

"In each of those countries, the program provided for discussions with the prime minister or president and between Canadian officials and their counterparts. These face-to-face encounters, and that with the Shah of Iran during an overnight stop in his country, provided an opportunity to learn at first hand of the attitudes and beliefs of world leaders in a way which cannot otherwise adequately be duplicated.



"A refuelling stop at Lahr permitted me to meet a good number of our servicemen, their wives and children.

"Wherever I went, I am happy and proud to report, the name of Canada was held in warm and sincere respect. The professional dedication of Canadian representatives abroad, be they in the Public Service or the Armed Forces, serving in our diplomatic missions or on United Nations or NATO assignments, the quality of our aid programs, the value of our trade and investment relations, the friendly and positive nature of our external policies within and without the United Nations — these have all accumulated for Canada over the years an enviable reputation. I am happy to report that the resourcefulness and skills of the members of my official party and of the Canadian Armed Forces crew who were responsible for our transportation contributed not only to the effectiveness of my trip but to Canada's good name wherever we went. To them I am grateful and offer my thanks.

"I have no doubt that all Canadians will agree that this high national reputation places upon our fortunate country a special obligation to conduct our affairs both internally and externally in a manner in keeping with the desire of all men to live in a world which contributes to human dignity, justice and social progress. To this end, all Canadians must dedicate themselves consciously in order to be rid of racial or regional or linguistic prejudices, for these are belittling to the world, to Canada, and to us as individuals."



# *United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space*<sup>(1)</sup>

THE Department of External Affairs shares with the Department of Communications and the Science Secretariat of the Privy Council Office responsibility for Canadian policy relating to the work of the 28-member Outer Space Committee and its subsidiary bodies: the Legal Sub-committee, the Scientific and Technical Sub-committee, and the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites. Canadian delegations to Outer Space Committee meetings are generally composed of representatives from these three departments. The two Sub-committees, as well as the parent Committee itself, meet annually; the DBS Working Group concluded its work for the time being at its third session in 1970, having left open the possibility of its being reconvened.

The Outer Space Committee, which reports annually to the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, reviews the work of its subordinate groups, approves their reports and lays down guidelines for their efforts. At present, it is primarily concerned with: (a) the Legal Sub-committee's efforts to elaborate a "Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects"; and (b) the scientific and technical encouragement of international space programs, including international rocket-launching facilities and the registration and identification of objects launched into outer space.

## **Canadian Delegates Active**

Canadian representatives on the two Sub-committees and on the parent Committee have been particularly active in recent years in considering the draft liability convention and registration items. Indeed, it was a Canadian proposal at the eighth session of the Legal Sub-committee in 1969 that resulted in the request to the Scientific and Technical Sub-committee "to study as soon as possible the technical aspects of the registration of objects launched into space for the exploration and use of outer space".

The continuing efforts of the Legal Sub-committee to reach agreement on a liability treaty are of special concern to Canada, which has the second-largest territorial area in the world and is thus particularly vulnerable to damage by objects falling from space. The two major questions that still require resolution before a generally-accepted agreement can be secured relate to a compulsory settlement of claims procedure and to the law to be applied when a claim for damages is instituted. Canadian delegations have consistently taken a firm line that the prospective international instrument must be victim-oriented. To this end they have strongly supported compulsory binding arbitration for the final settlement of

<sup>(1)</sup> This is the ninth in a series of articles appearing monthly in *External Affairs* describing the work of the Legal Divisions of the Department of External Affairs.

disputed claims and the law of the place where the damage occurred or, where appropriate, international law as the law to be given primacy in determining the amount of compensation payable.

Following up the initiative in the Legal Committee mentioned above, Canada tabled a paper entitled "The Technical Aspects of the Registration of Objects Launched into Outer Space" at the seventh session of the Scientific and Technical Sub-committee in 1970. During the course of the meeting, it became clear that a number of other delegations agreed with Canada on the need for an up-to-date and effective system of registration, based on an international convention accessible to all interested government, organizations and agencies to facilitate the prompt and accurate identification of space objects and their parts. However, as there was no consensus, it was agreed that further study of this question was required.

### **Implications for Global Communications**

Canada also played a leading role in the three meetings of the Direct Broadcast Satellites Working Group during 1969-70 because of the Canadian view that this dramatically new form of global communication offered immense potential benefits to mankind. In collaboration with Sweden, three joint working papers were submitted to the meetings of the Working Group. The first dealt with the technological aspects of direct-broadcast satellites; the second explored the non-technical implications, including basic legal questions and social, cultural, political and economic features of this new form of communication; and the third examined the possibility of control of content of television programs beamed from satellites.

Both the Legal and the Scientific and Technical Sub-committees are scheduled to meet in 1971. The former will concentrate on attempts to resolve the outstanding issues impeding agreement on the liability convention; the latter will examine questions relating to earth-resources-surveying satellites, the promotion of space technology and the co-ordination of UN space activities, meanwhile keeping the subject of registration and identification of space objects under review.

# *Scientists as Diplomats*

by J. W. GREENWOOD,

SCIENCE COUNSELLOR AT THE CANADIAN EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON

The impact of science and technology on international affairs is becoming increasingly significant and varied as new advances are made. It will be important for Canada to be assured of access to scientific developments abroad and to participate in multinational co-operation in scientific undertakings, co-operation which is expanding in scope and complexity.

*Foreign Policy for Canadians, 1970.*

WITH these words, the official review of Canadian foreign policy formally acknowledged that science and international affairs had become increasingly intertwined. Casual observers, noting that Canada's Department of External Affairs had created a Division of Scientific Relations and Environmental Problems only a few months before the policy statement was published, could be forgiven for wondering whether Canada was a latecomer in the field. In fact, the Department of External Affairs has been deeply involved in a variety of international scientific matters for many years.

For Canada, as for many countries, it was the early postwar effort to reach agreement on international control of atomic energy through the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission that first brought diplomats into a close working relation with scientists. Politically the effort was a total failure, but it had a worthwhile fringe benefit: it demonstrated to diplomats and scientists alike not only that they could work together harmoniously and productively but that they could not do without each other in a world where the entire face of international relations had been revolutionized overnight by a new technology. No scientific or technical advance since then has had such a traumatic effect on international relations, not even the shock of *Sputnik*, but the last two decades have brought a succession of less dramatic scientific developments that have, each in its way, reshaped the world and altered the source of international affairs. Where they have involved weapons and military hardware, their impact has been obvious and will not be mentioned further here; their main effect has been to confirm the military supremacy of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

## **Science and Technology Reshape Foreign Affairs**

The world predominance of these two great powers has, however, also been magnified and reinforced by their prowess in non-military science and technology. European nations in pursuit of the same prowess have been propelled into a variety of multinational scientific efforts such as Euratom, the European Space



Research Organization (ESRO), the European Launcher Development Organization (ELDO) and the Centre européen des recherches nucléaires (CERN). Other international organizations of a scientific nature have been created in the UN family, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), each aimed at helping member nations and the world at large to benefit from science and technology, and each working largely in a diplomatic framework. In addition, many individual scientific and technological discoveries are reshaping foreign affairs. The development of high-yield wheat and rice gives promise of relieving starvation in the Third World, while improved agricultural technology elsewhere produces disrupting food surpluses. The potential of satellite-communications technique and earth-observation programs from space is so revolutionary that it is difficult to predict whether they will lead to international harmony or discord. Synthetic drugs and chemicals have virtually destroyed the markets for certain natural products from developing countries. At least one country, Japan, has decided that full-scale dedication to industrial technology can compensate for its lack of natural resources and its limited geography.

Looming over the entire international scene is man's impact on his own environment. Actions taken in one country can affect the quality of the environment in another country 1,000 miles away, or even alter the climate of the whole world. The motorist in Detroit not only shares his polluted air with Windsor; his demand for fuel can potentially influence the ecology of the Canadian Arctic. Concern over environmental quality will have a major effect on international affairs for the foreseeable future.

Closer to home, Canada's own role in the world has been affected by science and technology in several ways. For example, Canada is in the front rank of world atomic powers, not only because of its uranium resources and its foresworn capability for developing nuclear weapons, but also because of its unique and sophisticated nuclear-power program. No other non-nuclear-weapons state has approached Canada's level of development with a domestically-originated nuclear technology. In outer space, the first non-U.S., non-Soviet satellite was built in Canada; it is, furthermore, the longest-lived satellite ever launched by any country.

In every direction, the modern diplomat sees his day-to-day work being shaped by science and technology, whether because his government has taken a deliberate decision to treat science as an instrument of its foreign policy, or merely because he represents his government at an occasional meeting of a UN science agency in a far-off capital. In recognition of this fact, the foreign ministries of many countries have provided themselves with scientists-cum-diplomats, not only to advise them at home but, more especially, to serve as science officers in their embassies abroad.

### **A Hybrid Occupation**

It is tempting but not quite correct to say that science attachés belong to

profession; they are not formally trained to work as scientists in embassies, and none has so far made it his life career. It is a hybrid occupation without even an accepted name. Its members avoid calling themselves "scientific diplomats", not because they seriously fear being expected somehow to conduct diplomacy in a scientific fashion but because there is a well-established system of diplomatic titles into which they can be fitted.

The head of an embassy is, of course, the ambassador. If it is a large mission like the Canadian Embassy in Washington, his senior assistants may have the diplomatic rank of minister, followed in descending order of seniority and responsibility by counsellors, first secretaries, second secretaries and third secretaries. The term *attaché*, obviously meaning a person attached to the embassy, has a certain useful ambiguity as to diplomatic rank, and is usually combined with a descriptive prefix to identify specialists such as military, cultural or agricultural *attachés*. For simplicity, the term "science *attaché*" will be used in what follows to refer generally to any scientist who is an accredited member of a diplomatic mission, no matter what his diplomatic rank.

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How widespread is the practice of sending science *attachés* abroad? By actual count, the foreign ministries of 23 countries are now doing so, and among them they account for a total of 116 embassies in 23 world capitals with a science *attaché* (including a small number of diplomatic missions accredited to international organizations). Because many embassies have teams of several science *attachés* on their staff, the total world population in the profession is over 150.

### **Distribution of Science *Attachés***

The world-wide distribution shown in the table on Page 130 is derived from information supplied by other science *attachés* in Washington and from inspection of official diplomatic lists from other capitals. It is believed to be reasonably accurate for the period when the information was gathered (late 1969 and early 1970), but some entries may be missing; a few embassies omit any identification of specialists on their staff, and diplomatic lists for some capitals proved to be unavailable. Conversely, some *attachés* carry dual labels such as "Educational and Scientific" but may in practice have no scientific training and only the most nominal dealings with science. On balance, the table is probably a slight understatement of the true numbers. *Attachés* occupied solely with defence science have been deliberately omitted, such as those of Canada's Defence Research Board in Washington and elsewhere.

The greatest concentration of embassies with science offices is in Washington, where there are 20<sup>(1)</sup>. (To maintain perspective it must also be pointed out that

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<sup>1)</sup> Now increased to 22 by the arrival of *attachés* from Yugoslavia and Taiwan.

nearly 100 Washington embassies have none.) London is next in popularity, with 15 embassies having a science attaché, followed closely by Paris and Tokyo with 14 each and Bonn with ten. Moscow and Stockholm have six. Canadians may be surprised to learn that Ottawa has five (Czechoslovakia, France, Britain, Poland and the Soviet Union)<sup>(2)</sup>, not to mention an additional eight countries whose science attachés are resident in Washington but also accredited to their Ottawa embassies. Six science attachés are accredited to international organizations rather than to foreign governments, but it is curious that no country has sent a science attaché to the United Nations headquarters in New York, despite the preoccupation of several UN committees with scientific matters.

The most interesting aspect of this population analysis, however, is the light it sheds on the foreign policies of several nations by the extent to which they employ science attachés in their foreign services. In total number of embassies the United States is the leader, with science attachés at 20 posts abroad (including a newly-appointed attaché at its mission to UNESCO in Paris, not shown on the table). U.S. science attachés are more or less uniformly distributed between capitals in advanced nations, developing nations and the Eastern bloc. It is therefore, tempting to conclude that the U.S. has adopted a policy of registering its scientific presence even-handedly across the world, without special effort to cultivate any particular group or emphasize any particular task, such as the exchange of technology with advanced nations or aid to the Third World.

### **Case of France**

The most interesting case is France, which already has science attachés in 11 of its embassies and is reported to be planning two more. The French have the largest total scientific staff abroad: at least 20 with diplomatic rank, assisted by enough non-diplomatic scientists to bring the total to well over 30. France has science attachés not only in Washington but also at its consulates in Boston, Houston and San Francisco, with a total of 12 scientists involved in French diplomatic relations with the United States. This expansion, from three in 1968, was initiated under President De Gaulle. France stations more than three-quarters of its foreign scientific staff in advanced nations, including two in Canada, but still manages to be the only country with science attachés in Vietnam and in the People's Republic of China, and the only one except the U.S. to be so represented in developing nations.

The British case is specially significant historically; the idea of stationing official scientific representatives in another country appears to have originated with the British realization, during the Second World War, that new technologies such as radar and atomic energy could be vitally important to the Allied war effort. There has been a British scientific mission in Washington ever since the arrival of the Tizard Mission in 1940, headed in its early days by such illustrious

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(2) At present reduced to four by the departure of the Polish science attaché.



names as Sir John Cockcroft and Sir Charles Darwin. Other Allied countries quickly followed suit, and there came into being the British Commonwealth Scientific Office, made up of science attachés from Australia, Britain, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, sharing common services in the same office building. It existed for 19 years until it was disbanded in 1963. Altogether, there are British science attachés in seven capitals, none of which are in developing countries, although there was one in India until recently. It can be inferred that Britain prefers to concentrate on keeping up with science and technology in other advanced nations.

Two of Canada's four science-attaché offices — in Washington and London — were created during the Second World War, and continued in existence because of the volume of scientific exchange they found themselves called on to handle. At first they functioned primarily as liaison offices for the National Research Council, but increasingly they became involved in general diplomatic affairs of a scientific nature. Similar increases in scientific traffic led to the assignment of science attachés to the Canadian Embassy in Paris and the Canadian Mission to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), also in Paris, in 1962.

Not surprisingly, advanced nations predominate among sending countries: only four developing countries choose to send their scarce scientific talent to embassies abroad, among which the Philippines has the largest number (five). The Soviet Union apparently has science attachés in only seven embassies, but in some the science staff is surprisingly large, as in Washington (six) and Paris (four). Despite its effective use of foreign science and technology, Japan maintains science missions at only seven of its embassies. Presumably its great interest in industrial technology is satisfied by direct company-to-company contacts.

It is difficult to discern any general trends from the data in the table.<sup>(3)</sup> Surprisingly, there appears to be no very direct correlation between the number of attachés sent out by a country and such indicators as population, gross national product (GNP), or expenditure on research and development (R and D). Other less obvious factors must also be at work, about which one can only speculate. Perhaps some foreign ministries are reluctant to accept scientists as pseudo-diplomats, or possibly the home scientific community is sceptical about the value of the operation. Nevertheless, the presence of science attachés in 116 embassies around the world indicates that the profession is filling a genuine need, as does the fact that their numbers have increased sharply over the last decade.

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But what is the nature of the need? It is not enough to point to the general impact of science on international affairs as a justification for stationing a science attaché in a particular embassy. Nor is it enough to do so for mere scientific prestige.

SENDING COUNTRY	HOST COUNTRY																				Total Posts Abroad with Science Attache
	2	1	1	2	5	1	1	14	10	15	1	1	1	2	14	2	2	1	6	20	
1 Australia										X										X	2
2 Belgium																				X	1
3 Brazil									X											X	2
4 Bulgaria								X							X					X	3
5 Canada								X		X									X	X	4
6 Czechoslovakia								X							X				X	X	5
7 Denmark								X	X	X									X	X	4
8 Finland																					1
9 France	X			X	X	X				X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	15
10 Germany															X	X				X	4
11 Great Britain					X			X	X						X	X				X	7
12 Hungary								X	X						X	X					3
13 India															X	X					2
14 Israel								X	X	X					X					X	5
15 Italy																					1
16 Japan								X	X	X										X	7
17 Netherlands															X						2
18 New Zealand										X											1
19 Pakistan										X											1
20 Philippines			X												X					X	5
21 Poland					X			X											X		3
22 Romania																					1
23 South Africa								X	X	X									X	X	4
24 Sweden								X													4
25 Switzerland																					3
26 U.S.A.	X			X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	19
27 U.S.S.R.		X			X			X	X	X					X						7
TOTAL POSTS IN HOST CAPITAL	2	1	1	2	5	1	1	14	10	15	1	1	1	2	14	2	2	1	6	20	116

## Reasons for Science Attachés

There are five major foreign-policy motivations of substance that could, in principle, enter into any government's calculation in deciding to post a science attaché to one of its embassies:

(1) *Scientific Liaison*: Usually the major function of a science attaché is scientific liaison with another more-or-less advanced country, primarily with the aim of keeping his principals at home up to date with the latest scientific developments in the host country, and enhancing exchanges of information and people. Often the liaison is directed toward highly specific matters, such as the interests of a single government research laboratory at home or a single field such as atomic energy. It does not attempt to duplicate the traditional international mechanisms for scientific exchanges, but rather emphasizes new technological applications of science, fast-breaking developments, subjects of an interdisciplinary nature, or other matters not adequately or speedily dealt with through orthodox scientific channels.

(2) *Technological Liaison*: Some science attachés direct their liaison activities primarily toward the technological needs of industry at home. It can be, and often is, a worthwhile function, but its value should not be exaggerated or its cost ignored. It cannot be of major value unless it covers a wide range of technological expertise, which may require a team of several specialist attachés in a single country. They must be backed up by an efficient infrastructure at home to distribute the information to those who can exploit it. Most important, the industrial managers who receive it must be willing and able to exploit it effectively, either by developing it on their own or by entering into licensing arrangements with the originators — in either case, quickly enough to avoid falling further behind their competitors. It is very much an open question whether science attachés, even in large teams, can do much to close the technology gap, which in any event is now thought by many to be primarily a management gap. If the crucial components are eagerness and ability to exploit new technology, one must ask whether that same eagerness and ability would not have led the same industrial managers to the information through more direct channels. Nevertheless, even if science attachés cannot close the technology gap, they can at the very least help to keep the gap from widening, provided they are part of a large-scale technological liaison program that is adequately staffed and financed both at home and abroad.

It is interesting to note the contrast between these two motivations: whereas science is fundamentally a co-operative enterprise, technology is basically competitive. The two do not necessarily call for the same type of skill or activity on the part of a science attaché.

(3) *Trade Promotion*: While any embassy officer must at all times be conscious of his country's trade interests, science attachés are sometimes expected to assist home industry by undertaking direct trade promotion. For example, the 1964 Plowden Report on Representational Services Abroad attrib-



uted only two functions to British science attachés: "They keep home Departments abreast of scientific developments overseas which may be of use to Britain, and they bring their expert knowledge to bear on export opportunities." In practice there is little evidence that science attachés of any country are, in fact, involved in direct trade promotion, or, indeed, that the contacts they need for their other activities are the right ones for trade promotion.

(4) *Foreign Aid*: If a country has a major program of foreign assistance, it may decide that a science attaché in a recipient country can provide on-the-spot reports on the scientific needs of a developing nation, or supervise exchange programs of scientists, or be available to discuss the development of a scientific program with officials of the host nation. Foreign-aid programs are, of course, a part of foreign policy with political roots, and the presence of a science attaché in a developing nation may therefore serve the political purpose of emphasizing the across-the-board commitment of the donor nation.

(5) *Science Diplomacy*: Finally, a science attaché can equip an embassy for what can be characterized as science diplomacy: the conduct of a variety of ordinary diplomatic business where the scientific content is significant. It is in this function that the closest approach is found to the true hybrid of scientist and diplomat. The most important aspects, which will be examined more closely later, are two: general reporting of science policy matters and assisting in the negotiation of scientific agreements. (The activities of a science attaché accredited to an international organization are a specialized form of science diplomacy.)

It is impossible to be certain what weight was attached to each of these five motives when the 27 countries made their original decision to send science attachés abroad. However, some suggestive ideas about national policies that may have shaped the decisions have been put forward by Robert Gilpin in "Technological Strategies and National Purpose" (*Science*, 31 July 1970). Gilpin suggests that a nation can follow one of three technological strategies in responding to the challenge of the new international economic world. The first is the strategy of the United States and the Soviet Union, which seek to support scientific and technological development across the broadest front possible. Gilpin notes that Britain followed this strategy until the early 1960s and that France did so under President De Gaulle but is now subjecting it to critical review in the light of its scarcity of scientific resources.

The second strategy is to select specific areas of science and technology where innovation seems possible and concentrate resources on them, as exemplified by Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland and, increasingly, Britain. Although Gilpin does not mention it, the strategy of specialization is, of course, exactly what has been recommended by the Science Council of Canada.

The third strategy emphasizes purchasing imported foreign technology, as Japan has done extensively and West Germany to a less pronounced degree.

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Despite the extent to which science attachés are now employed in embassies around the world, it is, nevertheless, a profession that is little known outside its own immediate circle. Even a regular diplomat may not be familiar with the role of a science attaché unless he happens to have served at an embassy with one. The public is virtually unaware of the existence of the profession, except for the rare occasions when it hits the headlines for one reason or another, as for example, when one of its Washington members sought political asylum in the U.S. in 1970, or when the U.S. science attaché in Bonn, Dr. Herman Chinn, alerted official Washington to the dangers of thalidomide in 1961.

### **An Informal Survey**

In an attempt to satisfy its own curiosity about itself, the community of science attachés in Washington agreed, late in 1969, to conduct an informal survey by means of a questionnaire prepared by several of its members. The U.S. State Department volunteered to send the same questionnaire to all its science attachés abroad, and supplied a full summary of the responses. When combined with the responses from the attachés in Washington embassies, three-quarters of whom proved willing to participate, the sample covered something approaching a third of the world population of science attachés.

What is a typical science attaché? The survey revealed that the great majority were trained in one of the "hard" sciences, such as a physics, chemistry or engineering; only a few had a background in the life sciences. About half were previously government scientists or science administrators. About a third came from posts in private industry, and the smallest number were university professors.

With some exceptions (which are becoming more frequent), science attachés do not remain permanently in the profession but tend to return to a job closely related to their previous work after finishing their tour in an embassy. The exceptions are those who expect to go directly to another foreign embassy, or to do so after an intervening tour of duty at home, as is usually the case for U.S. attachés. They quote widely-varying lengths for their tours of duty at their embassies, ranging from a low of two years to the record held by the "dean" of the science attachés in Washington, Dr. Louis Groven of Belgium, who came in 1955. The average tour is about five years (as is typical for U.S. science attachés), which is a year or two longer than the average posting for regular career diplomats. All science attachés appear to be regarded as full members of their countries' diplomatic services during their terms of office. Almost all are responsible directly to their ambassadors. There is some evidence to indicate that those who are more thoroughly integrated into the work of their embassies are less likely to report solely to their ambassadors.

All science attachés must, of course be acceptable to their foreign ministries and their embassies, no matter who their actual employers may be. Many are in fact selected and employed solely by their foreign ministries (or after only a

minimum of consultation with other ministries). A somewhat smaller number of countries fall at the opposite extreme, where the selection and effective supervision rests more or less completely with a separate government research agency or science ministry, such as the South African Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) or the French Délégation Générale à la Recherche Scientifique et Technique (DGRST), although the attaché may nevertheless receive his salary from the foreign ministry. In two countries the line of authority for selection and supervision rests with an unusual source: for the Netherlands it is the Ministry of Economic Affairs, and for Sweden it is the semi-public Royal Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences. Other countries rely on various combinations of two or more ministries, one always being the foreign ministry, to select and supervise science attachés in joint consultation.

### **Canada's Science Attachés**

Until 1968 all four science attachés in Canadian embassies were appointed and paid by the National Research Council and were usually selected from NRC staff, although increasingly, as time passed, they provided a general service for all federal departments and agencies. It was decided in 1968 that future Canadian science attachés would be selected from anywhere in the federal Civil Service (or indeed from outside government as well) by the Science Secretariat of the Privy Council Office in conjunction with the Department of External Affairs. They are employees of the Department of External Affairs during their posting abroad, and serve the needs of any and all federal departments and agencies at home. Canada's four current attachés came to their posts from positions with Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL), the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and the Science Council of Canada. Since its creation in early 1970, the Division of Scientific Relations and Environmental Problems in the Department of External Affairs has had special responsibility for the "care and feeding" of Canadian science attachés. NRC has continued to operate a separate liaison office in London, staffed by two science counsellors. Although Canada has never had an atomic energy attaché abroad, a European representative of AECL has office space in the Canadian Embassy in Paris, and for one year in the mid-1960s an AECL officer was lent to the Canadian Embassy in Vienna as Scientific Attaché and Alternate Governor for Canada at the International Atomic Energy Agency.

On the American scheme, science attachés are selected and administered by the State Department and completely integrated into their embassies. Many return for further postings abroad after serving a home tour, either in the State Department's own Bureau of International Scientific and Technological Affairs or on loan to another part of government. The former is, of course, their home-base: because it employs 30 professional staff members in Washington and all but one of the attachés abroad, the operation is large enough to provide the flexibility a career service needs in order to be workable.



Science attachés are not sent abroad without being given at least general instructions as to their functions. The official terms of reference for science attachés of Britain and the United States are known, and they are remarkably similar to those applicable to Canadian science attachés. Information about a few other countries is available only by inference, but most seem to fit the same three-part pattern of responsibilities:

- (1) To advise the ambassador and other embassy staff on scientific and technical matters.
- (2) To report on science policy trends and general developments in science and technology in the country to which they are accredited.
- (3) To facilitate exchange of scientific and technical information between the two countries.

### **Nature of Responsibilities**

The balance between these three naturally varies greatly from embassy to embassy, but certain generalizations can be made from the previously-mentioned survey. Each attaché was asked to estimate what portion of the effort in his office was devoted to each of a dozen types of activity. In most embassies, by far the largest effort goes into activities that can be lumped under the third term of reference, which for convenience can be called scientific liaison. For the most part it involves obtaining scientific and technical information for the home government, transmitting documents, visiting laboratories, attending conferences, arranging for visits of scientists, and the like. It is an especially important function for countries separated by great geographical or cultural distances and where direct scientific contacts are, therefore, less easily maintained. Under these circumstances, a science attaché must devote a good deal of effort to scanning and selecting scientific and technical information to send home, partly from scientific journals but more particularly from a multitude of government reports and other less-widely-circulated documents. He may employ a full-time documentalist, as several in Washington do. It has been said that reporting on science in Washington is like trying to drink from a fire-hydrant; judgment is needed to satisfy the thirst without drowning the clients at home in a flood of information exceeding their needs. The attaché may also deal with a reverse flow of information on science from his own country, in which case he will attempt to direct it into the right quarters in the host country.

Many attachés put a major effort into arranging information-gathering visits to the host country by scientists from home, often assisting with the choice of laboratories to be visited and making all the travel arrangements. In at least three Washington embassies, the science attaché employs a full-time travel officer. If distance makes it difficult for scientists to visit the host country, it may be necessary for the attaché to attend scientific conferences and visit laboratories on their behalf to report on recent developments. He may interview applicants for scientific posts in his home country, or take certain administrative responsi-

bilities for students from his country at universities in the host country. He may even assist in the purchase and shipping of scientific equipment.

For all but three of the Washington attachés responding to the questionnaire, scientific liaison activities like those described above account for as much as 80 per cent of their effort, the average being about 67 per cent. The remainder of their time is chiefly devoted to the second term of reference, general reporting of science policy trends (10 per cent to 15 per cent), and to the first, advising their embassy colleagues (5 per cent to 10 per cent). A few miscellaneous activities account for the remaining few per cent. Two of the three exceptions to this pattern are attachés at embassies of Western European countries, where the balance is shifted much more strongly toward general science policy reporting. The third exception is Canada, which is dealt with below.

A fourth category in the survey covered an item not easily assigned to any of the three terms of reference: conducting specific diplomatic approaches to the host government in response to instruction from home, a function that is commonplace among regular diplomats. Among science attachés in Washington the typical estimate is 5 per cent or less, and there were several responses of zero. Again the exception is Canada.

While the main responsibility of an attaché is, of course, to his government, most will make their services available on request to universities at home, at least occasionally. There is wide variation regarding services for individual private firms; some attachés reported that they never did so, others that they did so frequently, and then usually through a ministry of their home government rather than directly.

Responses from U.S. attachés abroad who completed the same questionnaire showed an even greater range of variation, doubtless because of the variety of countries in which they were located. The general pattern, however, was the same as for Washington attachés, aside from a slightly greater effort devoted to advising their embassy colleagues and to conducting diplomatic approaches; in general their major effort is devoted to scientific liaison, except for one who reported spending three-quarters of his time on diplomatic approaches to the host government.

### **Canada Varies the Pattern**

The Canadian Science Counsellor in Washington was noted as an exception to the general pattern in two respects. First, he is much more occupied with general reporting of science policy trends than with scientific liaison work; the latter accounts for less than 10 per cent of his work. Secondly, he is the only Washington attaché reporting any significant involvement in diplomatic approaches to his host government. These two major functions account about equally for most of the other 90 per cent of his effort.

The reasons behind this pattern are closely related to Canada's unique geographical and cultural closeness to the U.S. To account for what he does *not*

do, it should be noted that Canadian scientists rarely feel the need for scientific liaison assistance, or indeed for any kind of assistance, from their Embassy in Washington. They are well-informed on scientific developments in the U.S.; they are in frequent direct contact with U.S. experts in their own fields; they attend their own scientific conferences in the U.S.; they visit and negotiate directly with U.S. suppliers of scientific equipment; and they probably belong to the American scientific society appropriate to their field, as well as to the corresponding Canadian society. In short, they feel so little like foreigners in the U.S. that the thought of seeking assistance from their Embassy rarely occurs to them. Occasionally a Canadian scientist, faced with some intractable problem unique to the Washington bureaucracy, appeals to the Canadian Embassy for advice and learns of the existence of the science attaché for the first time.

Nor is there normally any need or desire on the part of Canadian companies to obtain industrial technology from the U.S. through diplomatic channels. Barriers of geographic separation and language difference (at least in English-speaking Canada) are minimal, and informal trade contacts are easily developed through many channels. American-owned Canadian subsidiaries have their own special access to the latest technology. The need for such access is greatest in high-technology industries, where it happens that American ownership is predominant.

So it is neither scientist-to-scientist relations nor technological liaison for industry that shape the role of a Canadian science attaché in Washington but intergovernmental relations in scientific fields. For example, Canadian officials need to be kept aware of science policy trends in Washington, not only because science policy in the world's technological giant is intrinsically interesting to any country trying to shape its own science policy but because U.S. actions can and do have a direct impact on Canadian science. The closeness of the two countries creates many profitable areas for intergovernmental scientific and technical collaboration, and many joint problems than can be solved only by mutual (and sometimes difficult) accommodation. Clearing up the pollution of the Great Lakes is one of the best examples.

### **Joint Canada-U.S. Action**

There are several scientific fields in which the two governments are already undertaking joint action. Three Canadian-built satellites have been launched by U.S. rockets under agreement with the North American Space Administration (NASA); further agreements are now being negotiated for co-operation on a Canadian-built Communications Technology Satellite and for direct Canadian participation in NASA's Earth Resources Technology Satellite (ERTS) program. The Churchill Research Range was originally a U.S. project, later a jointly-operated one, and is now entirely the responsibility of NRC. More recently, Canada was among the half-dozen countries invited by the U.S. to play an active role in NASA's post-*Apollo* program, aimed at operating a space shuttle and space station.



One of the newest potential fields of co-operation involves the vast field of Arctic research and development, especially the ecological and environmental impact of human activities in the North.

Because both countries realize increasingly how much is to be gained by working together, there are likely to be more and more future examples of co-operative effort in a variety of scientific fields. It has become the custom for the U.S. President's Science Adviser and the Chief Science Adviser to the Canadian Cabinet to meet informally from time to time to discuss specific bilateral science matters and compare notes on a wide range of general questions of interest, any of which could lead to co-operative programs.

In all these activities, it is the Science Counsellor's job in Washington to keep alert for new opportunities for co-operation, to assist in negotiating new agreements and to help existing agreements operate smoothly. It should be noted that, when full-scale scientific collaboration is instituted in a particular field, it tends to be handled mostly at the working scientist's level, or by a joint committee, or through a specific liaison office set up for the purpose, such as that maintained by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (USAEC) at Chalk River from the early 1950s until 1970. It is in the stages leading up to an agreement where the Science Counsellor can play a particularly useful role.

A science attaché himself never takes such initiatives; foreign policy is made at home, and even an ambassador never signs an agreement without specific authority. Agreements are usually negotiated by teams of cabinet ministers or senior officials from each side, of which the ambassador or one of his officers is a member. Nonetheless, any embassy officer, including a science attaché, may be called on to investigate and, it is hoped, resolve some knotty disagreement to the satisfaction of his government while negotiations are under way. Sometimes he is able to alert one or both sides to problems that could prevent agreement, and head them off by preparing the way for compromise. Sometimes he may be instructed to take a draft agreement to the host government for preliminary discussion, or receive a counter-draft for transmission home, in either case accompanied by appropriate explanation and amplification.

### **Value of Social Contacts**

During such negotiations, as well as in all his normal contacts with officials of the host government, a science attaché finds that social occasions are as useful an adjunct to his official duties as they are for other diplomatic officers. The much-maligned diplomatic reception is not less barbaric than any other cocktail party, but the fact remains that it serves the purpose of allowing a more personal and relaxed relation than is usual during formal office visits, especially if wives are present to add an element of graciousness. Members of less-mobile professions can often look forward to an entire working lifetime in which to develop their professional contacts, whereas a diplomat must try to do so within a few months of his arrival at a new post. Even after he has become personally

established with his official contacts, social encounters such as receptions and dinners provide continuing opportunities for informal exchanges of information, or for exploration of difficult subjects and areas of policy difference, or for any number of exchanges that might have been more awkward to discuss in a formal situation. With luck he may see several people at a single reception who would otherwise have needed separate office visits. When he is the host, he may find it useful to include some of his own embassy colleagues on his guest-list as a means of painlessly lowering the barriers between scientists and diplomats. While the value of such social occasions should not be exaggerated, it is clear to the outsider suddenly thrust into the world of diplomacy that they would not have survived if they had not proved to be a useful extension of the working world. Indeed, they are invariably hard work if taken seriously. Perhaps some future science attaché can add a chapter to the report of the Royal Commission on the Non-Medical Uses of Drugs under the heading "Diplomatic Use of Alcohol".

A comment sometimes heard from U.S. science officials is that, if it were not for diplomatic social occasions, they would rarely have the chance for informal contacts with their own colleagues. Such a state of affairs demonstrates in a personal way the extent to which science has become a part of the process of government. For many countries it was the shock of *Sputnik* in 1957 that started the integration of science into a more intimate relation with government in general, leading to the creation of science ministries, science advisory committees and assistant secretaries for science and technology in departments that had hitherto felt no need for such positions. In Washington, science officials are found today near the top rung of the hierarchy in almost every government department and agency. The old philosophy of "scientists on tap but not on top" has almost disappeared. A science attaché's necessary contacts are, therefore, not limited to the official channel through the State Department but are spread over a dozen separate arms of the Government on an almost day-to-day basis and several dozen others on a less-frequent basis. Large science-oriented agencies and departments such as the National Institutes of Health, NASA, the USAEC and the National Science Foundation even have their own offices of international affairs, as do the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering. A science attaché in Washington probably finds himself dealing with a longer list of U.S. contacts than his other diplomatic colleagues. Even in Ottawa there has been a similar scientific proliferation, though on a smaller scale, and the Canadian science attaché may, therefore, be called on to serve a larger number of clients at home than his embassy colleagues do.

Because science is inherently international, government science officials sometimes feel, rightly or wrongly, that they are at liberty to communicate with fellow scientists across national borders more freely than other government servants. As a result, the science attaché finds himself part of an informal network that sometimes follows a different and more relaxed set of unwritten rules from

those of diplomats; on occasion he must even remind government science officials of their own national interests!

It is part of the schizophrenia of a science attaché's work that he must in this way keep one foot in both the diplomatic and scientific professions. Although his job puts him at one of the "inter-faces" between science and government where policy is formulated, and thrusts him into the heady atmosphere of contact with the top names of science, he must not forget his responsibility to his embassy or rebel against the inevitable routine of his job. For the most part he must adjust himself to the peculiarities of embassy life without any training except what he gets on the job. In the process he may benefit from a salutary lesson or two, such as the discovery that career diplomats are likely to have keen analytical minds and the ability to use the English language with precision and clarity, even in fields a good deal less precise and clear than the science he is accustomed to.

A former British science attaché in Paris, Richard Melville, has described the interaction well:

The diplomatic service, like any other career service, has something of the character of a closed circle, and this is accentuated by the fact that its members spend a large part of their careers in foreign countries, which tends to increase their solidarity. Moreover postings in the (British) service are seldom for longer than two or two and a half years, so that diplomats acquire a self-reliance and a ready adaptability to new surroundings that the outsider may be deceived into taking for conceit and superficiality. The newly-arrived scientific counsellor thus finds himself placed among new colleagues all of whom have been trained for their jobs (a qualification he may feel far from sure of possessing) and who know each other from having worked together previously at one or other of our embassies, or who may expect to meet again in later ones. In addition, not all of them can be expected to have much understanding of science as such or of its role in national and international policy; and yet he himself may not see clearly what is expected of him, nor how to address himself to his work. (*Proceedings of The Geological Association*, July 1967.)

There is no question that Lord Snow's "two cultures" are an occupational hazard for science attachés. A few in Washington report that, even though they are physically housed in their embassies, their contacts with their own diplomatic service are infrequent and insubstantial. They find that when a scientific matter begins to take on international political or economic significance it somehow gets dealt with by their embassy colleagues. Fortunately, the phenomenon seems to be gradually disappearing, perhaps because fewer and fewer career diplomats suffer from the lingering subconscious feeling that the science attaché's real function is merely to perform arcane services for his white-smocked brethren, whose work is unintelligible anyway. As Mencher has put it:

Although the professional values of diplomats, as well as the psychological atmosphere of their working environment, differ fundamentally from those of the scientist, the two professions share a basic common view: both consider their own pursuit to be the noblest man has created.

*(This paper is a slightly abridged version of an article originally published in the February and April 1971 issues of Science Forum [University of Toronto Press], and reprinted by courtesy of the Editor, Mr. David Spurgeon.)*



## *Festival in Penang*

**D**URING December 1970 the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner in Malaysia, partly as an experiment, undertook a major public relations project in the island state of Penang (a constituent member of the Federation of Malaysia) off the east coast of West Malaysia in the Straits of Malacca. The occasion was Pesta Pulau Pinang (the Penang Festival), a month-long trade, industrial and cultural venture.

Canada was the only foreign country to be represented by a stall at the trade and industrial fair of the Festival and, further, had the privilege of opening the international film festival at which 17 countries showed a selection of their best films to the people of Penang and to the many visitors to the island from other parts of Malaysia and the Southeast Asian region generally.

Officials of the High Commissioner's office in Kuala Lumpur were present on December 1 for the opening of the Festival, of the trade/information stall and of the film festival. The next evening they gave a reception for Penang's political, official, business and cultural leaders, including Dr. Lim Chong Eu, Chief Minister of the State.

### **A Successful Venture**

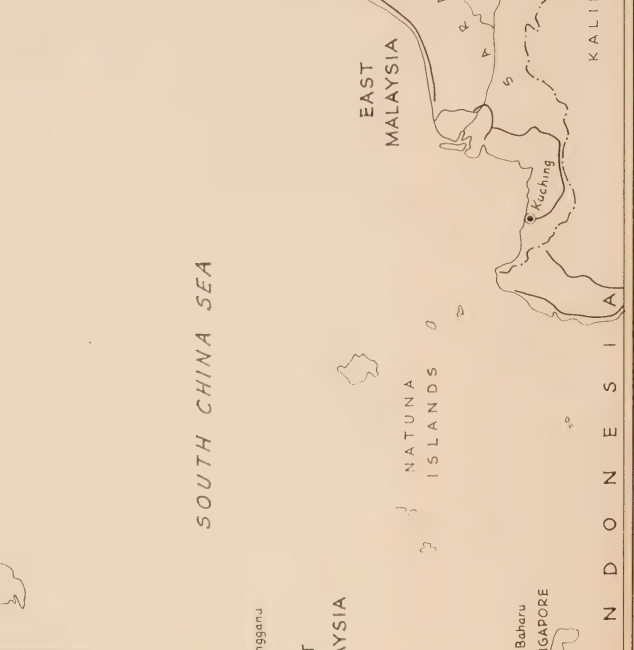
As an exercise in disseminating commercial, cultural and general information on Canada, Pesta Pulau Pinang 1970 was a success. Four companies with Canadian ties (Alcan Malaysia, Ancore International, Bata Shoes and Chemetics Limited) contributed exhibits and brochures to the Canadian stall. The three evenings of Canadian film, ranging from documentaries through humorous films to the experimental works of Norman McLaren, were well attended and received favourable critical appraisal. (The use of original music by Ravi Shankar in the McLaren film *Chairy Tale*, for example, did not pass unnoticed.) Canadian diplomatic officers spoke at Rotary meetings and others during the Festival period.

The members of the staff of the Office of the High Commissioner who served in Penang to supervise the Canadian stall were confronted with an enormous demand for information on Canada. Tens of thousands of pamphlets melted away and the relative scarcity of maple-leaf pins led to a profitable black market advantage for those who had been able to secure more than one. It would have been impossible before the event to have predicted the range and sophistication of many of the questions put to the Canadian representatives on duty at the trade stall. They included precise queries on subjects all the way from Canadian technical assistance to Malaysia and Canadian industrial processes to the quality of professional play in the expanded National Hockey League. It became apparent that it was essential to have Canadians on the spot to supplement the information conveyed in publications, pictures and display texts.

**MALAYSIA**  
**AND**  
**SINGAPORE**

— . — . — International Boundary — Road  
..... State Boundary ——— National Capital  
+ + + + + Railroad —●— State Capital

100 0 100 200 MILES  
100 0 100 200 KILOMETRES



### **A Useful Pilot Project**

If Pesta Pulau Pinang was flattering testimony to the high regard in which Canada was held and to the appetite of Malaysians for information on Canadian ideas, products and experience in general, it was also a valuable pilot project for the kind of co-operative and mutually-beneficial program which Canadian representatives abroad could undertake. Official Canadian participation in the Penang Festival was a joint exercise of the Departments of Industry, Trade and Commerce and External Affairs — and the more comprehensive and successful for being so.

Other points of contact are being developed in the State of Penang and hopeful first steps are already being taken to “twin” Penang’s capital with a Canadian city on the Pacific. This kind of program benefits Canadian Colombo Plan aid projects and commercial joint ventures with Malaysia, and improves the atmosphere in which the rapidly-growing contacts between Canada and Malaysia are developing (tourism not least) far beyond the measure of most short-term cost-benefit yardsticks.



# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Review of United Nations Charter**

*On February 22, in reply to a question as to whether Canada supported "the concept that a review of the Charter of the United Nations is necessary" and "the initiative taken by eight governments at the last session of the General Assembly directed toward that end", the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, provided the following answer:*

(1) A basic premise of Canada's foreign policy, as noted in the recent review, is to continue to work actively to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for international co-operation, and to ensure, in this context, that it can meet its responsibilities. Some suggest that, to achieve this end, a review of the Charter is necessary on the grounds that the Charter is now 25 years old, that conditions have changed greatly since it was drawn up, and that there are serious indications that the United Nations has not adequately met its central purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Others maintain that there is little evidence that the Charter itself has limited the scope for co-operation among states, that in fact it has adapted rather well to changing conditions, and that there is opportunity for further change within the existing framework. This argument suggests that the United Nations can be made more dynamic without actually rewriting the Charter, and that the effectiveness of the UN depends not upon changing the basic structure of the organization so much as upon the political resolve of the member states to fulfil the obligations and the responsibilities each has undertaken in agreeing to abide by the provisions of the 1945 Charter. In short, the effectiveness of the United Nations is directly dependent on the political will of its members.

The Canadian Government is quite prepared to give serious consideration to all specific constructive proposals for the revision of certain provisions of the Charter, if a majority of the membership considers this would be useful. However, for such a review to be successful, it is mandatory that the permanent members of the Security Council, and particularly both the United States and the Soviet Union, support the idea. At present there is little evidence to suggest that such agreement exists for a review at this time. In the interim, we consider that changes can be made within the existing framework to render the UN more effective. To this end we supported the establishment of the Special Committee of 31 to make recommendations on rationalizing procedures in the General Assembly. We have also supported the efforts to further develop and codify international legal principles such as those relating to friendly relations and co-operation among states, and we are working within the Peacekeeping Committee to achieve agreement on ways of enabling the United Nations to act more effectively in dealing with peacekeeping situations.

(2) At the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Canada voted in favour of a resolution, co-sponsored by Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Haiti, Japan, Liberia, and the Philippines, which decided to include an item on the agenda of the Assembly session to be held in late 1972 entitled "Need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations".

## Israeli-Arab Conflict

*The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, made the following statement in the House of Commons on April 1:*

. . . The present stage of efforts to make progress toward a lasting Middle East peace settlement involves both continuing dangers and challenging opportunities. The absence since March 7 of formal and mutual agreements to maintain the cease-fire underlines the persisting risk that hostilities might at some point be renewed unless the momentum of the current peace initiative is maintained and reinforced. But there are encouraging possibilities for such progress toward peace which I hope will be taken up and exploited by the parties.

The Government of Canada has followed with close interest the latest sequence of exchanges under the aegis of Ambassador Jarring, the United Nations Secretary-General's special representative charged with promoting a peace settlement on the basis of Resolution 242, which . . . was drafted with the help of Canada, which was then on the Security Council. Although Canada is not directly involved in these efforts and we are, therefore, not informed of all aspects of the exchanges, certain observations can fairly be made on the basis of development known to us.

I should like first to reiterate the Canadian Government's full support of Ambassador Jarring's persistent and untiring efforts to assist the parties toward a settlement based on the Security Council resolution. The House is well aware of the formidable nature of the issues to be resolved. Any expectation of rapid advance toward agreement would be illusory. But some encouragement may be drawn from the Secretary-General's report of March 5 on the course of Ambassador Jarring's mission.

In drawing attention to the intensity of recent efforts to move toward a peaceful solution, the Secretary-General noted that general agreement had been found on some of the problems to be settled. He also cited with satisfaction the positive reply given by the United Arab Republic on specific questions raised by Ambassador Jarring. As the House is aware, the U.A.R. response included an explicit expression of readiness to enter into a peace agreement with Israel, subject, of course, to mutually-acceptable terms of such agreement being worked out. At the same time, the Secretary-General has appealed to the Government of Israel to respond favourably to Ambassador Jarring's initiative. Ambassador Jarring will doubtless seek now to elaborate progressively the terms of a peace

settlement. For this he will be dependent upon goodwill and restraint by the parties in asserting what they see as their respective vital interests.

In the Canadian Government's view, the essential basis for a just and lasting peace remains available to the parties in the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 242. The opportunity is theirs, with Ambassador Jarring's help, to resolve within that framework all their outstanding differences. In this respect, the response of the U.A.R. Government to the questions posed by Ambassador Jarring is encouraging. We earnestly hope that the ultimate effort will be made along these lines, as a matter of urgency, to convert the present absence of hostilities into an enduring peace.

The Canadian Government's concern to see the exchanges under Ambassador Jarring proceed successfully has been emphasized to the parties in these terms in our regular diplomatic contacts.



## CONFERENCES

- WMO Sixth World Meteorological Congress: Geneva, April 5-30
- UNICEF Executive Board: Geneva, April 13-29
- Plenipotentiary Conference on Definitive Arrangements for the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium: Washington, April 14 - mid-May
- IBRD - IADB Discussions: Washington, April 19-23
- Economic Commission for Europe, twenty-sixth session: Geneva, April 19-30
- Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, twenty-seventh session: Manila, April 20-30
- ECOSOC, fiftieth session: New York, April 26 - May 21
- Economic Commission for Latin America: Santiago, April 27 - May 7
- UNESCO Executive Board, eighty-seventh session: Paris, April/May
- ITU Administrative Council: Geneva, May 1-21
- World Health Assembly, meeting of Commonwealth delegates: Geneva, May 3
- WHO, World Health Assembly, twenty-fourth session: Geneva, May 4-28
- IADB Board of Governors: Washington, May 10-14
- UPU Executive Council: Berne, May 20-28
- UNIDO Industrial Development Board: Vienna, May
- UNIDO Special International Conference: Vienna May/June
- International Narcotics Control Board: Geneva, May/June
- Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council: Lisbon, June 3-4
- ILO Conference: Geneva, June
- UNDP Governing Council: Geneva, June
- UNDP: Santiago, June 7-25
- ICAO Assembly: Vienna, June 15 - July 15
- World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing: Vancouver, July 5-16
- International Federation for Information Processing, fifth Congress: Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, August 23-28
- Fourth Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, September 6-16
- Commonwealth finance minister's meeting: Nassau, September 22-23
- Fifteenth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency: Vienna, September 23-30
- Third Commonwealth Medical Conference: Mauritius, November

## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### **Cameroun**

Agreement on economic and technical co-operation between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Federal Republic of Cameroun.

Signed at Toronto September 15, 1970.

Provisionally in force as of September 15, 1970.

##### **Ceylon**

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Ceylon concerning the co-operation of the two governments in the development of Ceylon.

Signed at Colombo August 15, 1970.

Entered into force August 15, 1970.

##### **Israel**

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the State of Israel on commercial scheduled air services.

Signed at Ottawa February 10, 1971.

Entered into force February 10, 1971.

##### **Jamaica**

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Jamaica on scheduled air services.

Signed at Kingston November 4, 1970

Entered into force November 4, 1970.

The Canada-Jamaica Income Tax Agreement.

Signed at Kingston January 4, 1971.

##### **Niger**

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Republic of Niger relating to the construction of "La Route de L'Unité et de L'Amitié canadienne".

Signed at Niamey December 18, 1970.

Entered into force December 18, 1970.

##### **Trinidad and Tobago**

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Trinidad and Tobago on commercial scheduled air services (with Exchange of Notes).

Signed at Port-of-Spain August 11, 1970.

Entered into force provisionally August 11, 1970.

##### **Uganda**

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Republic of Uganda for the training in Canada of personnel of the armed forces of the Republic of Uganda.

Signed at Kampala March 10, 1970.

Entered into force March 10, 1970.

To be effective from August 15, 1969.

##### **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

Protocol to further extend certain provisions of the Trade Agreement between Canada and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed at Ottawa on February 29, 1956.

Signed at Ottawa March 1, 1970.

Entered into force March 1, 1970.

To be effective from April 18, 1969.

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on co-operation in fisheries off the coast of Canada in the Northeastern Pacific Ocean.

Signed at Moscow January 22, 1971.

Entered into force February 19, 1971.

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on provisional rules of navigation and fisheries safety in the Northeastern Pacific Ocean off the Coast of Canada (with provisional rules of navigation and fisheries safety).

Signed at Moscow January 22, 1971.

Entered into force April 15, 1971.

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning co-operation in the industrial application of science and technology.

Signed at Moscow January 27, 1971.

Entered into force January 27, 1971.

### **United Nations**

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations for the provision of technical assistance to developing countries.

Signed at Rome January 22, 1971.

Entered into force January 22, 1971.

### **United States of America**

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America amending the Agreement between the two countries of May 6, 1964, concerning International Satellites for Ionospheric Studies (ISIS).

Signed at Ottawa May 11, 1970.

Entered into force May 11, 1970.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America to amend the Exchange of Notes of July 6, 1970 governing the operation of pilotage in the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway west of St. Regis (with a Memorandum of Understanding).

Signed at Washington August 11, 1970.

Entered into force August 11, 1970.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning joint participation in an augmentor wing flight test project.

Signed at Ottawa October 19 and November 10, 1970.

Entered into force November 10, 1970.

### **Venezuela**

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Venezuela extending for one year the Commercial Modus Vivendi between the two countries effected by an Exchange of Notes dated October 11, 1950.

Signed at Caracas October 23, 1970.

Entered into force October 23, 1970.

### **Multilateral**

International Convention on Load Lines.

Done at London April 5, 1966.

Canadian Instrument of Acceptance deposited January 14, 1970.



Agreement establishing the Caribbean Development Bank.

Done at Kingston October 18, 1969.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited January 22, 1970.

Entered into force January 26, 1970.

Arrangement concerning certain dairy products (skim milk powder).

Done at Geneva January 12, 1970.

Signed by Canada February 11, 1970.

Entered into force May 14, 1970.

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Done at London, Moscow and Washington July 1, 1968.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited at London, Moscow and Washington January 8, 1969.

Entered into force March 5, 1970.

Convention establishing the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO).

Done at Stockholm July 14, 1967.

Canadian Instrument of Accession deposited March 26, 1970.

Entered into force for Canada June 26, 1970.

Stockholm Act 1967 of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Intellectual Property.

Done at Stockholm July 14, 1967.

Canadian Instrument of Accession deposited March 26, 1970.

Entered into force for Canada July 7, 1970.

Stockholm Act 1967 of the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property.

Done at Stockholm July 14, 1967.

Canadian Instrument of Accession deposited March 26, 1970.

Entered into force for Canada July 7, 1970.

Canada's Declaration of Acceptance of the Optional Clause Recognizing the Jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Done at Geneva September 20, 1929.

Entered into force July 28, 1930.

Terminated April 7, 1970.

Canadian Acceptance as Compulsory of the Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

Signed by Canada April 7, 1970.

Entered into force April 7, 1970.

Patent Co-operation Treaty.

Done at Washington June 19, 1970.

Signed by Canada June 19, 1970.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization Agreement on the Communication of Technical Information for Defence Purposes.

Done at Brussels October 19, 1970.

Signed by Canada July 7, 1970.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited October 20, 1970.

Protocol amending Article 14 (2) of the Convention for the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea.

Done at Copenhagen August 13, 1970.

Signed by Canada August 26, 1970.

- Convention on the International Hydrographic Organization.  
 Done at Monaco May 3, 1967.  
 Signed by Canada May 3, 1967.  
 Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited August 26, 1968.  
 Entered into force September 22, 1970.
- Protocol extending the arrangements regarding International Trade in Cotton Textiles  
 from October 1, 1970, to September 30, 1973.  
 Done at Geneva June 15, 1970.  
 Signed by Canada October 8, 1970.
- Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.  
 Done at Vienna May 23, 1969.  
 Canadian Instrument of Accession deposited October 14, 1970.
- International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination.  
 Done at New York March 7, 1966.  
 Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited October 14, 1970.  
 Entered into force for Canada November 13, 1970.
- Amendments to the Annex to the Convention on the Facilitation of International Maritime  
 Traffic, 1965.  
 Done at London December 15, 1969.  
 Canadian Instrument of Acceptance deposited December 14, 1970.
- Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft.  
 Done at The Hague December 16, 1970.  
 Signed by Canada December 16, 1970.

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## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Mr. J. G. Halstead appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,  
 effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. M. Dupuy appointed Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, effective  
 February 1, 1971.
- Mr. A. J. Andrew appointed Director General of the Bureau of Asian and Pacific Affairs,  
 effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. J. A. Beesley appointed Director General of the Bureau of Legal and Consular Affairs,  
 effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. R. P. Cameron appointed Director General of the Bureau of Defence and Arms  
 Control Affairs, effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. T. Carter, Canadian Ambassador to the United Arab Republic, appointed Director  
 General of the Bureau of African and Middle Eastern Affairs, effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. L. J. O'Toole appointed Director General of the Bureau of Finance and Administration,  
 effective February 1, 1971.

- Mr. C. Roquet appointed Director General of the Bureau of Co-ordination, effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. L. A. D. Stephens appointed Director General of the Bureau of Public Affairs effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. W. K. Wardroper appointed Director General of the Bureau of Economic and Scientific Affairs, effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. R. H. Jay appointed Director General of the Bureau of United Nations Affairs, effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. K. Goldschlag, Canadian Ambassador to Turkey, appointed Director General of the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, effective February 15, 1971.
- Miss P. A. McDougall, Canadian Ambassador to Poland, seconded to the Privy Council Office as Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet (External Affairs and Defence), effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. J. C. G. Brown posted from assignment to the Imperial Defence College, London, to Ottawa, effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. M. P. Moreau appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 3, effective February 1, 1971.
- Mr. E. F. Publicover posted from the Canadian Embassy, Stockholm, to Ottawa, effective February 3, 1971.
- Mr. H. R. Morgan posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to the Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, effective February 4, 1971.
- Mr. F. Mathys posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective February 5, 1971.
- Mr. G. J. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective February 12, 1971.
- Mr. J. P. Schioler posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, to Ottawa, effective February 26, 1971.

Mr. W. E. Whiteley, Legal Adviser, deceased February 20, 1971.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Mr. Sharp Visits Five African Nations*

**B**ETWEEN March 5 and 21, 1971, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, made official visits to Ivory Coast, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and Zambia. This was the first tour by a Canadian foreign minister to Africa south of the Sahara, and the countries visited reflected Canada's close ties with both Commonwealth and *francophone* Africa. The tour enabled Mr. Sharp to obtain a firsthand view of some of the problems of Africa and provided him with the occasion to discuss matters of common interest with the heads of state of the countries he visited, who are among the leading African personalities today. He also met the foreign ministers and other representatives of each country. Upon his return to Canada, he told the House of Commons on March 22:

The trip enabled me to learn something, but all too little, of the countries visited. It gave me an opportunity to emphasize to the various governments the depth and continuing quality of the Canadian commitment to Africa. I return with the conviction that we must continue and increase over time our contribution to the economic development programs of our African friends. Our co-operation with *anglophone* and *francophone* countries of Africa reflects our own national personality. Our participation in the harmonious economic development of African countries constitutes, I believe, the best way of promoting peace through social justice and the most effective response to the challenge of racial inequality in Southern Africa.

### **Development Assistance**

During his visits to the five countries, Mr. Sharp had an opportunity to see Canadians at work in Africa and to appreciate the importance of aid in Canada's relations with that continent. In his statement on March 22, he declared:

Development assistance is and will remain the largest element in our activities in Africa. This is at once a measure of the need of the developing countries there and of the opportunity Canada has to contribute its resources, human and material, operating equally in English and French. . . . I learned at first hand of development plans from the African leaders, and saw how Canadian assistance programs fit into these plans and the part they may be expected to play in the future. In all five countries, I was assured that Canadian involvement in Black Africa is welcome and expansion in our present efforts is sought. African leaders in the countries I visited told me that the Canadians there were doing an excellent job and that the countries concerned could not get enough manpower.

### **La Francophonie**

Mr. Sharp discussed the question of La Francophonie with members of the Governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Ivory Coast, and explained Canada's position concerning this group of countries united by the French language and culture. He also took advantage of his visits to Ivory Coast and the Congo to emphasize the Canadian commitment to the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation, of which Canada is a full member, and to express the hope that the African countries would be participating fully in this organization.



AFRICAN COUNTRIES  
VISITED BY  
MR. SHARP





*Mr. Sharp descends from his aircraft at Lagos, Nigeria.*

Mr. Sharp took the opportunity during his visits to give formal effect to aid arrangements worked out over the past year. He noted during his numerous discussions that, although Canadian assistance to French-speaking African countries had begun slowly and modestly, it was Canada's intention, now that this aid had reached the same level as Canadian assistance to Commonwealth Africa, to continue it not only for the benefit of the receiving countries but also to reaffirm Canada's bicultural character.

### **New Aid Arrangements**

During his visit to Ivory Coast, Mr. Sharp announced that a previous long-term interest-free loan of \$4.3 million to that country for the completion of a rural electrification scheme was increased by \$2.1 million to \$6.4 million. He also announced a loan of up to \$2.5 million to help carry out an airborne geophysical survey of part of the Ivory Coast terrain.

In Lagos, Mr. Sharp signed a memorandum of understanding setting out the terms of a \$20-million development loan to enable the Nigerian Railway Corporation to purchase 54 locomotives from a Canadian firm.

Through an exchange of letters, Mr. Sharp indicated Canada's agreement in principle to co-operate with the Congolese authorities in a forestry project involving the establishment of a faculty of forestry engineering at Lovanium University, the establishment of a school of forestry technicians, and the preparation of an inventory of forestry resources in a vast area of the Congo River basin.



*At the N'djili Airport, Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Sharp makes a brief statement for the press.*



*At the headquarters of the East African Community in Arusha, Tanzania, Mr. Sharp signs supplementary loan agreement to cover ocean-freight and insurance costs of 35 locomotives in order from Canada. Left to right (seated): Mr. M. J. Cook, Canadian High Commissioner, Nairobi, Kenya; Mr. Sharp; Mr. Z. H. K. Bigirwankya, Secretary-General of the EAC; Mr. R. J. Ouko, Minister of Common Market and Economic Affairs; and Mr. John Malecela, Minister of Finance and Administration.*



The \$5-million Canadian share in this development scheme will involve a \$3-million loan and a \$2-million grant component. In addition, Mr. Sharp announced that Canada would make available grant credits worth \$175,000 for studies of a para-medical training program, a microwave relay link, and the need for specialized airport equipment in the Congo.

Mr. Sharp signed with the Secretary-General of the East African Community in Arusha a supplementary loan arrangement for \$1 million to cover the ocean-freight and insurance costs of 35 locomotives ordered from Canada, the purchase of which had been financed last November by a \$13-million loan.

Mr. Sharp signed a \$1-million loan memorandum to finance an engineering design survey of the Makuyuniawanza Road in the north of the country. He also signed an understanding to finance by means of a \$300,000 grant a produce-storage survey, as well as a pilot project to determine the suitability of Canadian manufactured storage structures to Tanzania's needs.

### **Southern Africa**

In all five countries he visited, Mr. Sharp found that Canada's stand on Southern African issues was well understood and accepted:

African leaders I met expressed their satisfaction with Canada's position on these problems as expressed by our public statements and our voting record at the United Nations.

He stressed the need for a peaceful solution to the problems of Southern Africa, as large-scale hostilities in Africa could only bring about the ruin of



*Mr. Sharp prepares to insert a memorial scroll in the foundation-stone of the National Library in Abidjan, Ivory Coast.*



the economies of the black nations and destroy any hope for a better life for their peoples. Canada's role was explained by Mr. Sharp to the House as follows:

I think we should realize and accept that our capacity to influence the white racist minorities in Southern Africa is limited and can best be exercised multilaterally through the United Nations and the Commonwealth. What we can do ourselves is to offer economic and political support for the developing countries of Black Africa. In this way, we can make a positive contribution to the solution of the deep-seated problems of Africa, and it is here that our energies should be focused. This is bound to be more rewarding for Africans and Canadians alike than wasting our energies in empty gestures designed to tell the world of our moral rectitude on racial questions.

# *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*

## SIXTEENTH GENERAL CONFERENCE

THE sixteenth General Conference of UNESCO, which was attended by the representatives of 125 member states, opened at the Organization's headquarters in Paris on October 12, 1970, and ended on November 14. The Conference approved a budget of \$89,898,560 (U.S.) and adopted a program to be implemented over a period of two years. At the conclusion of the proceedings it was decided that the next General Conference should be held in Paris, starting on October 17, 1972, and concluding on November 27 at the latest.

### **Conference Officers and Administrative Personnel**

The President was Mr. Attilio Dell'oro Maini of Argentina. The Vice-Presidents were provided by Britain, Canada, Ecuador, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Jamaica, Japan, Madagascar, Nigeria, Tanzania, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Venezuela and Yugoslavia. The chairmen of the various commissions, committees and sub-commissions were: Program Commission — Mr. Fûa Sarrûf (Lebanon); Administrative Commission — Mr. Ilmo Hela (Finland); Legal Committee — Mr. Jean Baugniet (Belgium); Committee on Resolutions — Mr. A. Wagner de Reyna (Peru); Credentials Committee — Mr. M. Okinda (Gabon); Headquarters Committee — Mr. V. Lipatti (Romania); Nominations Committee — Mr. T. Etemadi (Afghanistan); Education Sub-Commission — Mr. K. Arianayagam (Malaysia); Sciences Sub-Commission — Mr. K. M. Sape (Ghana); Sub-Commission on Social and Human Sciences and Culture — Mr. J. Szszepeński (Poland); Information Sub-Commission — Mr. A. Okkenhaug (Norway).

### **Election of Canada to Administrative Positions**

The presence of the president of the Canadian delegation, Mr. N. LeBlanc, on the Executive Board gave the delegation an advantage at the outset over those of several other countries in the competition for administrative positions. The interest and ability of the experts in the delegation, which became evident in the early stages of meetings of the commissions and sub-commissions, also contributed to the choice of Canada for important duties. Thus Canada was elected to the vice-presidency of the General Conference, and was able to take an active part in guiding and directing operations; in 1970 it resumed a seat it had held at the fourteenth General Conference in 1966. Thus, too, Canada was re-elected without special effort to the Legal Committee, to the Co-ordinating Council for

the International Hydrology Decade and to the International Co-ordinating Council of the Program on Man and the Biosphere.

Canada's election to the vice-presidency of the General Conference indicated, on the one hand, recognition by member states of Canadian participation in UNESCO activities and, on the other, adherence by members to the system of electoral groupings.

### **Composition and Role of Canadian Delegation**

The Canadian delegation, appointed by the Government in consultation with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO and (for activities related to the education program) with the advice of the Education Ministers' Council, was headed by Mr. Napoléon LeBlanc, Vice-Rector of Laval University, member of the Executive Board of UNESCO and Chairman of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO. The Honourable F. W. Rowe, Minister of Education for Newfoundland, and Mr. René Garneau, Permanent Canadian Delegate to UNESCO, assumed the duties of vice-president. Miss E. Redmond, Director of the French Department, Churchill High School, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Mr. Jean-Marie Beauchemin, Associate Deputy Minister in the Department of Education of the Government of Quebec, and Mr. Maurice Richer, Secretary-General of the Education Ministers' Council of Canada, divided among them the work of the numerous work units of the Sub-Commission on Education. A team made up of Dr. E. O. Hughes, a science adviser in the Science Secretariat of the Privy Council, and Dr. J. J. MacDonald, Dean of the Faculty of Science at St. Francis Xavier University, worked on the Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences. Active representation of Canada on the Sub-Commission on Social and Human Sciences and Culture was ensured by Messrs F. M. Tovell, René Garneau and D. W. Bartlett, Professor Louis Sabourin, Director of the Institute of International Co-operation at the University of Ottawa (Social Sciences), and Dr. William S. Rogers, Director of the French Department at Trinity College, University of Toronto (Human Sciences). The Sub-Commission on Information benefited from the broad experience of Mr. Alphonse Ouimet, President of Telesat Canada, who in 1968 had headed the same body with generally-acknowledged effectiveness. Mr. Gilles Bergeron, Assistant Deputy Minister of Communications, and Mr. J. Dalfen, from the same Department, worked closely with Mr. Ouimet. Mr. Bartlett, Secretary-General of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, was chosen by the Conference to serve as *rapporteur*, and also to sit on the Sub-Commission on Social and Human Sciences and Culture. His skills had already been employed in 1968 to head this Sub-Commission's Working Group on Man and the Environment. The Department of External Affairs was represented by Mr. Tovell, a former Ambassador and now Director of Cultural Affairs for the Department, Mr. R. G. Blackburn of the same Division and Mr. Roger Turenne of Canada's Permanent Delegation to UNESCO. Mr. A. W. Robertson, First Secretary at the Canadian Embassy at The Hague, was the delegation's legal



adviser, and Mr. Ian Robertson of the Canadian International Development Agency was responsible for presenting to the Commission the Canadian point of view on administrative and budgetary matters. Mr. Jean Chapdelaine, Delegate General of Quebec in Paris, and Mr. J.-M. Blondeau, from the Quebec General Delegation, were associated with the legation's activities.

### **Principal Interventions of the Delegation**

Through its president and one of its vice-presidents, the Canadian delegation intervened significantly in the general debate on three occasions. The first of these interventions, on October 15 (Mr. LeBlanc), was designed to show that the aims, methods, approaches and short-run projects of the Organization indicated that UNESCO had discovered its optimum structure and rhythm of development, and that its benevolent and rational activity played an indispensable part in international relations. UNESCO has not lost sight of the fact that its main objective is to strengthen peace. Its function is not to settle conflicts but to impart a human — one might say *humanist* — quality to peace, and so to contribute to the avoidance of incipient conflicts — “What kind of peace would it be when cultural values were neglected and thought abandoned?” At the centre of its area of concern, UNESCO has placed development, and since 1964 it has had available a system of guidelines that enables it to maintain consistency and give life to its cultural activities. It sets its priorities for action within this context and is able both to pursue its aims and develop in new directions. Its educational program is designed to promote the quality and quantity of new ventures, advances in teaching, and the general availability of education. Since the Venice Conference on Cultural Policies, in August 1970, an effort has also been made to create a balance between traditional and modern activities in the cultural sphere. In the natural sciences UNESCO can act as a catalyst to action by member states on the national level; in this connection may be mentioned a project (the Hydrology Decade) on which UNESCO has spent only \$200,000, and which has prompted an investment, by Canada alone, in the order of \$6 million *per annum*. The Canadian intervention, however, pointed to the fact that there was still too wide a discrepancy in UNESCO activities between the roles played by the social and human sciences and the natural sciences, and recommended that the Organization strive to make more use of the significant “support capability” represented by the national Commissions, and to satisfy their wish to cease functioning in isolation.

The second Canadian intervention (at the close of the general debate on November 14) was an effort by the president of the delegation to assess the activities of the Conference. Summarizing the main decisions, it reaffirmed that no valuable aspect of tradition had been repudiated; all that had been established by experience had been reiterated, and would be extended and enhanced. Attention to youth, quickly organized under the pressure of events at the 1968 Conference, is now given greater weight in UNESCO policy; co-ordination of certain

particularly important activities will be worked out through interdisciplinary projects that should make possible a reduction in the gap between the natural sciences and the social and human sciences; a new cultural *philosophy* that emerged at the Venice Conference will be developed into a cultural *practice* by means of the long-range plan. In addition, thanks to discussion of the approach that is to guide the conception of the long-range plan, a reform of methodology has been announced that will facilitate future action.

The gist of the third major intervention will be found in the section immediately following.

### **Budget**

Adoption of the Organization's budget (\$89,898,560 U.S.) was conducted in two stages, in accordance with normal procedure, and contained no surprises.

At the first stage (October 19), a provisional limit, which, incidentally, coincides with the final budget, was accepted by 101 votes in favour (Canada) to none against, with nine abstentions. The purpose of this effort to secure agreement in principle at the start of the Conference was to decide on a scheme of priorities to which the Program Commission can usefully refer. At this point, the Permanent Delegate intervened to express Canada's agreement in principle. This agreement was modified by two reservations: (a) the budget was regarded as a maximum; (b) in the view of the Canadian delegation, it was a transitional budget. It was agreed to in conjunction with reforms that UNESCO was to introduce in accordance with the recommendations of the *Report on Capacity*, known as the *Jackson Report*. Thus, Canada is anxious for agreement to be reached as early as possible with the United Nations Development Program so that the latter may assume the cost of a part of the UNDP projects, for which UNESCO is now responsible in its capacity of implementing agent.

In the final stage of consideration of the budget (November 14), the resolution regarding establishment of credits for 1971-1972 was adopted by a large majority of members present.

### **UNESCO and Development**

The aspect of UNESCO activities concerned with development played a leading part at the sixteenth General Conference for two reasons. Firstly, this was the first General Conference since publication of the *Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System* (the *Jackson Report*). This study, the outlines of which were repeated in the text of the consensus unanimously approved by the Administrative Commission of the United Nations Development Program (and in due course approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations), contemplates radical changes in the organization of the UNDP. It therefore had implications for UNESCO, since 45 per cent of the resources at the Organization's disposal come from the UNDP.

Secondly, the General Conference was not at the beginning of the Second

Development Decade, and needed to lay down guidelines for UNESCO activity in this regard.

Since it was not included among the General Conference agenda as such, the question of the *Jackson Report* was discussed when the section of the draft program and budget on co-operation with the UNDP was considered. The Canadian delegation took an active part and, in particular, successfully proposed a draft resolution whose effect was to bring the text of the consensus officially to the notice of the Conference and to reinforce the inclination of the Director-General towards the principle of programming on an individual country basis.

The Program Commission discussed at considerable length projected contributions by UNESCO to the Second Development Decade. This discussion was based on a draft resolution proposed by 77 developing countries; the fate of this lengthy and detailed draft was never in doubt, especially as the co-author readily accepted amendments by other countries, among them Canada. The document, which was somewhat philosophic in nature, restated certain developmental principles, namely that development must involve not only economic and social factors but also moral and cultural values and that the success of the Second Development Decade would depend as much on the quality of the aid given to developing countries as on the quantity of this aid. It did not, however, ignore the quantitative aspect, as a result of numerous requests for budgetary and extra-budgetary aid. In addition to making concrete suggestions for implementing the principles laid down in the areas of education, science, culture and information, the document also made several recommendations to member states.

## Peace

Whether dealing with educational or cultural problems that might have political overtones, with budgetary or administrative matters, or even with developments "strategies", all delegations were quick to point out, at one stage or another of the Conference, in the manner most to their advantage, that it should not be forgotten that UNESCO was part of the United Nations organization. It is thus not surprising that, several times during the debates (especially when Points 9 and 10, dealing with the UNESCO contribution to peace, to the struggle against colonialism and to the strengthening of inter-European co-operation for peace, were being discussed), the political content of the interventions sometimes prevailed over matters that it is the proper role of UNESCO to consider. This tendency to drift towards "politicalization" also characterized the discussion of the admission of the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic.

However, while in these particular cases division along clearly-defined ideological lines was apparent, the outcome of these debates does not appear to have swung the Organization towards unalterable positions or attitudes from which there could be no retreat. As the Director-General put it in his closing speech immediately after the great final debate on peace, it could be seen that there had



been no lessening in the moral dynamism of UNESCO and that there had been no shortage of tensions between projects requiring intellectual co-operation, properly so-called, and those involving moral (read political) issues in the Organization. However, precisely because it was possible in the final analysis to regard the debate from this detached point of view, it could be concluded that the sixteenth General Conference had not brought about a breach between "activists" for peace and anticolonialism and those who thought that, while working for peace in its specific fields of operation, UNESCO should not take the place of the UN.

### **Priorities, Resources and Working Methods**

A resolution designed to fix the general outline of UNESCO's development over the next few years in terms of the general policy debates at the sixteenth Conference was adopted before the conclusion of discussions. This resolution was proposed by the Conference's General Committee.

Its text reiterates ideas put forward by the Director-General summarizing or commenting on the 116 interventions in the policy debate, as well as several of the special concerns that emerged from the 27 principal interventions regarding the budget.

The resolution emphasizes the general agreement that medium-range planning is to be maintained. It states that peace, development and protection of human rights remain the Organization's major objectives, and that the priorities of the last ten years for education and science and their application to development are to be continued to 1976. A new dimension had been brought to the fore by the Venice Conference — culture. It may be expected that, as time passes, culture as a developmental tool ("Culturally, we are all developing") will entail progressive shifting of the centres of gravity of the programs. "Culture is no longer one thing; it functions as a symbol of life," the Director-General stated. On account of these fundamental shifts in the system of priorities, it is apparent that the notion of priority is not limited to budgetary data but also implies "an intensification of intellectual effort and improvement of the quality of action". Because of the part they can play in interdisciplinary projects, and their significance for the progress and promotion of peace, the social sciences will receive closer attention by UNESCO. In short, future development of the Organization will be guided by a spirit of renewal in continuity.

This medium-term outlook must be accompanied by budget estimates corresponding to plans as closely as possible and giving them support — hence the necessity for making a reasonable estimate of the rates of budgetary increase, without, however, assigning to them a figure that would exceed what is meaningful. It has been stated that the rate of increase for UNESCO must be judged in terms of program needs, the financial capacity of member states to bear the cost, and the ability of the Secretariat, on the one hand, and the eventual beneficiaries, on the other, to make use of the resources available.

Within this broad context of program and budgetary planning, the resolution restates the views of the general debate in favour of an effort to concentrate and ensure correspondence between objectives and resources. The number of conferences and meetings will be limited, and planning for them and implementation of their conclusions will be rationalized. The increase in numbers of the Secretariat must be reduced, and means considered for adapting its facilities to various types of program. These facilities must, for example, be in a position to cope with interdisciplinary projects. Also, as a contribution to the program, there must be closer relations between the Organization and national Commissions, to ensure greater participation by the Commissions in carrying out assignments.

Two resolutions concerning methodology were also adopted by the Conference. They dealt with revision of the presentation of program and budget projects (C/5) and the outline of the long-term plan (C/4). So far as possible, the document setting out program and budget plans every two years, and the document containing an outline of the longer-term plan, will in future be prepared and drafted simultaneously by the Secretariat, supplied to member states at the same time and submitted to the Executive Board in the spring session six months before the opening of the General Conference. The Director-General is requested, in consultation with the Executive Board, to study the possibility of combining these two documents, as this would make it easier to consider the biennial program in the wider and more dynamic context of the sexennial program. Further, a definite timetable for presentation of future programs and budgets to member states and the Executive Board was established by the resolution, and the Conference suggested an effort to simplify the form and structure of the program and budget draft to the Director-General, whose task it now is to reconcile the demands of those who are pressing for more information and of the supporters of synthesis.

## **Program Commission**

### *(a) Education*

Naturally, no delegation raised objections to the position of high priority accorded to education. A third of the program budget will, in fact, be allocated to this sector, in which development aid can be employed most effectively and the largest number of interdisciplinary projects are initiated. The delegation team specializing in education participated in the operations of the Sub-Commission and its working groups, and its contribution received encouraging comment from all quarters at the Conference. The results of the Canadian effort are reflected in the content of several resolutions. Advances in modern teaching methods at all levels in the Canadian provinces, Canada's experience as a nation in adult and continuing education, and the efforts made to link these two new branches of education more and more with traditional teaching, made it possible for the Canadian delegates to speak with authority on these matters, which were of the greatest interest to the Conference.

The Conference gave general approval to the studies, seminars, surveys and research planned by UNESCO, several of which, especially in the area of continuing education, will draw on the intellectual resources of the three other large departments of the Organization. UNESCO's responsibility in aiding refugees with education received overwhelming support that was not affected by the inevitable references to the political implications of the question. It was generally agreed that in this instance, as in the case of retarded youth, protection of the individual right to an education was involved, as well as a genuine international responsibility, as was acknowledged for the training of retarded children. The trend towards making education more generally available, clearly supported by all delegations, is, in fact, reflected in the principle underlying steps to be taken by UNESCO in higher education, where it was recommended that students be consulted with concerning their curricula. The move toward making education more relevant to everyday life through continuing education prompted Canada to propose that, in countries where this is possible, the industrial and business world be urged to comment on teaching and the training of educators and professors. The responsibility of "early influences" is not limited simply to teaching. Such persons also have an important guidance function to perform, and from this point of view they must be aided, in industrialized societies, to establish contact with the environments to which pupils and students are destined. Study of the comparability and equivalence of diplomas and grades, at the secondary and higher levels, which has been a UNESCO responsibility since the fifteenth General Conference, will be continued. Most of the delegations were anxious to see what could in Canadian terms be called "an international B.A.". The literacy program, which will be energetically pursued by means of technical assistance and the Special Fund, as well as the regular program, has undergone searching analysis. It constitutes a world-wide program that has continued to grow since the thirteenth General Conference, and in which functional literacy has an important part to play. It includes 12 long-term projects of considerable size, and a number that are more modest, at a total cost of some \$50 million; a fifth of this is provided by the United Nations Development Program, and a large part by the governments concerned. The expected creation of an International Commission on the Development of Education in July 1971, which will account for \$300,000 of the regular program, was not accepted without reservations. It was pointed out that a Commission of this nature already existed in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and that the International Education Bureau was already an integral part of UNESCO, from which it would receive \$900,000 in 1971-1972. Moreover, the International Institute for Educational Planning is closely allied to UNESCO, which will provide it with \$1 million over the next two years. However, because the proposal for creating this Commission was presented by UNESCO as part of the International Education Year, and may to some extent rely on the moral backing of the Pearson Commission, the delegations ultimately resolved to approve the project, especially as it was to be created for a limited period.



Steps to encourage youth activities have the support of the UNESCO program and, in this connection, will account for 20 percent more of the education budget (technical assistance and Special Fund) than at the last biennial Conference. The problems and attitudes of youth will continue to be analyzed through studies and grants. Young people will be urged to participate in the solution of questions concerning them by the implementation by individual member states of projects partially subsidized by UNESCO, and they will be invited to assist in the reinvigoration of education, the diffusion of scientific learning and cultural development. Development policy offers them a sphere of action that will be more clearly defined at the World Conference on Youth Participation in the Second Development Decade that the United Nations has planned for 1971. Steps to assist the most disadvantaged young people will become a matter of priority for UNESCO in 1971-72. More than 40 national youth delegations were admitted to the Conference, and several gave addresses.

The resolution for creating an international university produced animated and useful discussion. The Director-General emphasized the fundamental responsibility of the United Nations in this respect, and suggested, with the agreement of the great majority of the delegations, that if the General Assembly of the United Nations so requested, UNESCO should be entrusted with the capacity study that must be undertaken before going any further.

#### (b) *Natural Sciences*

UNESCO has a dual scientific mission: to encourage international co-operation in, and application of, science and technology with a view to development; and the program adopted by the Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences is a reflection of this.

In the area of development, UNESCO will continue with its programs of science education, training engineers and technicians, and teaching in the agricultural sciences. The chief new element, by way of the application of science and technology to development, will be an attempt by UNESCO to outline a general typology of developing nations, on the basis of a fairly extensive series of parameters concerning the present level of local science and technology, and its potential for growth.

The Canadian delegation took a more active part in discussion of the wide-ranging programs of international co-operation, such as the Hydrology Decade, the Inter-Governmental Oceanographic Commission, and the new Program on Man and the Biosphere, since Canadian interests are more pronounced in these areas.

Among the most significant recommendations of the Sub-Commission is a Draft World Science Information System (UNISIST), which UNESCO is to introduce in collaboration with the International Council of Scientific Unions. The Canadian delegation intervened in support of this program, which was unanimously approved, and observed that it must be established through national systems in existence or to be introduced, and in close collaboration with other

international organizations and United Nations bodies interested in the project.

The Sub-Commission approved without serious obstacle projects presented in the sphere of hydrology, although there was some concern that the funds assigned to this program for the next fiscal period had been reduced. UNESCO will continue to be responsible for the Secretariat of the International Hydrology Decade. There were not many new departures in this area, as the General Conference followed closely on the mid-Decade Conference. An enlargement of the Co-ordinating Council of the Hydrology Decade was approved, however, and the development of a long-term program to take over from the Decade when the latter terminated in 1974 was assigned to it.

Discussion of oceanography turned mainly on the draft amendment to the statutes of the Inter-Governmental Oceanographic Commission, which it had prepared for the General Conference. The chief countries interested in the IOC, such as the United States, the U.S.S.R., France, Japan, India, Britain and Canada, supported this draft as the amicable conclusion of a long debate within the IOC, which avoided a pronouncement on questions of jurisdiction in territorial waters, which are within the ambit of the United Nations. However, the Latin American countries felt that certain clauses could detract from the sovereignty which they claimed in their offshore waters.

Finally, the "keynote" in the scientific area, the long-term program on Man and the Biosphere, is not, on account of its interdisciplinary nature, a matter for the Sub-Commission on Natural Sciences but for the plenary session of the Program Commission. Its principal concern, however, is scientific, and in this connection criticisms were presented, notably by Canada, of the limited resources allocated to the program on Man and the Environment, which complements Man and the Biosphere in the area of human sciences.

The Commission discussed a draft of a long-term program that will involve particularly the study of the entire structure and operation of the biosphere and its ecological regions, systematic observation of the changes produced by man in the biosphere and its resources, consideration of the general effects of these changes on the human race itself, and decision on the training to be given and the information to be circulated in these questions. This program will be supported by a network of national committees, an International Co-ordinating Council made up of 25 states (including Canada), meetings between the secretariats of the various United Nations agencies, and close co-operation with interested non-governmental organizations. Certain points made in the long debate on this program deserve attention, such as the fear by developing countries that the process of development may be slowed down by ecological considerations, the need to re-examine the program in the light of the Stockholm conference on the human environment planned for 1972, the risk of overlapping with other United Nations programs and those of non-governmental organizations and, accordingly, the need for co-ordination, and, finally, the fact that the program is too big and that the International Co-ordinating Council should be called on to set priorities. Never-

theless, the Commission unanimously approved the statutes of the International Council, which to a large extent will have the responsibility for making the program work.

(c) *Social and Human Sciences and Culture*

By comparison with the number of meetings devoted to the Sub-Commission on Education, the Sub-Commission on Social and Human Sciences and Culture may be said to have been treated as a poor relative. However, the quality of the representations and the value of the recommendations presented to this Sub-Commission ensured it an importance at least equal, in the general perspective of the Conference, to that of the other elements of the Program Commission.

In assessing projects in the area of the social sciences, the main comment of the Canadian delegation dealt with the disparity between the importance of the operational duties entrusted to the social sciences and the paucity of the budgetary resources assigned to them. It was also noted that more appreciable intellectual resources could be employed in activities in this area. In fact, it is sought to involve this Department in "intersectoral study", which encompasses fields at once far-ranging and varied (development, peace research, problems of the human environment and demographic problems), while it is sought at the same time to give its Philosophy Division a wider function of critical reflection than it at present performs in the Organization's programs as a whole; but neither is furnished with the means to accomplish all these tasks. The remarks of the Canadian delegation appeared particularly apt to a great many delegations, in view of the proliferation of these interdisciplinary projects, involving several departments at once, which the 1971-1972 program entails.

There was equal interest shown in what Canada's representative had to say on the subject of culture. While observing that the Human Sciences and Culture Program did not yet have the range and structure desired, and that its budget was inadequate, Canada acknowledged that there had been progress on the formula adopted at the fifteenth General Conference. In the discussion of this point on the agenda, the representatives of the developing countries demonstrated notable signs of maturity; they fully recognized culture as an aspect of development, and their recommendations made up a coherent whole.

Canada indicated its interest in the conclusions of the Venice Conference, from which more concrete results are hoped for than the 1971-1972 program budget can provide. Resolution 3.32, which was designed to put into practice the UNESCO theory of cultural action defined at Venice, was acknowledged as a first step in the development of the Organization's programs toward a broader objective, in which culture will have a new importance. Satisfaction was expressed at the fact that the *Journals of World History* are to appear in a new form, permitting insertion of studies on the cultural development of humanity and the evolution of cultures.

A Canadian delegate clearly indicated the function of literary promotion that UNESCO could undertake by more substantial support to literary creativity.



Proposals for subsidies to the Pen Club and for a program of translation and publication of representative texts are already within reach; this is also true for the plan to convene, in conjunction with the International Association of Literary Critics, a round table on current conditions and opportunities for criticism. However, Canada is anxious to see UNESCO go further with this program of aid to literary development; a policy of support to writers and encouragement to publishing in the more-developed countries, research on customs procedures which hinder the free circulation of books between these countries and introduction of technical aid to publishing in the developing countries have been acknowledged as spheres of action it would be within UNESCO's competence to undertake.

Canada pleaded for UNESCO to consult more frequently with non-governmental organizations of a cultural nature, in Canada and elsewhere, in the preparation of plans and setting of objectives. Recalling the Venice Conference, the Canadian delegation indicated that several member states, including Canada, would be interested in a study of the problems of multicultural societies. The official examination of bilingualism and the dual culture, conducted over several years by a Canadian Royal Commission, and the documentation which it gathered on this topic, could contribute to UNESCO's activities in this area.

While the Canadian delegation supported the principle of an international agreement to halt the illegal exporting of works of art, it observed that ratification of this agreement would present legal problems for Canada because of its constitutional structure.

#### (d) *Information*

The decisions taken by the Sub-Commission on Information were characterized more by continuity with previous programs than by new departures, whether in spatial communication, international movement of persons and material, research and studies on information, development of the media and their use for extra-curricular education, public information or the development of documentation services, libraries and archives.

Approval was given to activities for promoting the use of spatial communications to aid in attaining UNESCO objectives, in particular the draft statement on the main principles regarding the use of spatial communications for the free circulation of information, the extension of education and the intensification of cultural exchanges, which is to be submitted for consideration at the seventeenth General Conference. During the next period, UNESCO will continue its program of study and research on spatial communication, and will maintain its aid to member states to foster a better understanding of problems raised by the new technology. The importance of UNESCO's function in this area was emphasized by several speakers, who noted the increasing gap between certain countries in opportunities for access to communications techniques, and the resulting threat to native cultures. This threat had already been pointed out by the Canadian delegation at the fifteenth General Conference.

UNESCO's action regarding the media will continue to include assistance to

member states in developing their own information policies and the infrastructure for their media. A new feature in this area of research and study regarding information will consist of the introduction of an international consultative council responsible for aiding the Secretariat in developing a four-year study program.

The Sub-Commission took two decisions of some importance in favour of free circulation of books. The first consisted of the proclamation of 1972 as International Book Year, and the implementing of a program similar to that for the International Education Year. The second concerned approval, with some reservations, of the creation of an International Centre for Copyright Information, to give developing countries easier access to protected texts.

The Canadian delegation took a more active part in the general debate on the whole item on the Draft Program and Budget dealing with information. Since this debate provided an opportunity to look towards the future, the Canadian delegation, with certain others, took advantage of it to present a draft resolution setting certain priorities in the preparation of forthcoming programs and budgets. This draft, which had the support of most of the other delegations and of the Secretariat, places emphasis on activities affecting information research and policy. In his presentation, Mr. Bartlett pointed out that familiarity with the media had outstripped understanding of their use, and that in this sense all members were developing countries. UNESCO should accord priority to research on information, and information policy, not merely because this need has become everywhere apparent but because its action may have a multiplier effect in prompting the introduction of complementary programs in member states. Here lay the true vocation of UNESCO, since it did not have sufficient resources to undertake the necessary studies directly.

### **Administrative Commission**

The most important decisions taken by the Administrative Commission concern the use of Arabic as a UNESCO working language and the construction of a sixth building at the Organization's headquarters. This Commission also discussed the geographic distribution of personnel, consideration of the schedule for contributions by member states, and creation of the new position of Assistant Director-General, as well as several problems of lesser importance, relating to personnel management, finances and administration in general.

As decisions taken at the fourteenth and fifteenth General Conferences resulted in the progressive introduction of Arabic as a UNESCO working language on an experimental basis, it had become inevitable, for political reasons, that this language should be put on an equal basis with the other four working languages. The debate was not easy going, however, because some delegations found it difficult to approve allocation of a substantial part of the UNESCO budget for translation expenses rather than program implementation. The Director-General pointed out that not only was the introduction of a new language more costly than any of those already in use but it increased the cost of each of

them. The Administrative Commission nevertheless decided to adopt measures requiring that Arabic be placed on the same footing as the other four working languages in time for the eighteenth session of the General Conference.

The debate on the question of construction of a sixth building unfolded in a similar fashion to that on Arabic, in that the decision to be taken was the logical sequel to decisions of prior General Conferences but that some countries wished to reconsider these decisions to a certain extent. The fifteenth General Conference had allocated funds to finance a discussion draft and estimate prepared by the architect M. B. Zehrfuss, with eventual construction of a sixth building in mind. It was up to the sixteenth General Conference to give the go-ahead for work to begin. However, some delegations questioned the necessity of this building as a medium-term solution to the Organization's expansion problems. (A long-term solution — probably reconstruction of the headquarters — is contemplated for some time around 1985). They felt that the problem could be quite satisfactorily dealt with by decentralization of operations and construction of temporary buildings. Nevertheless, by a vote of 59 in favour to eight opposed, with four abstentions, the Commission decided in favour of the sixth building, which is to cost \$10.5 million (U.S.). The financing will be amortized over a six-year period.

Although the principle that personnel should be hired on as broad a geographic basis as possible is universally accepted, this point occasioned several interventions, on account of the appreciable number of member states which were either under-represented, or not represented at all, on the staff of the Secretariat. While it recognized the sizable difficulties the Director-General faced in his efforts to remedy the problem, especially the scarcity of sound candidacies from the under-represented countries, the Commission chose 1976 as a target year for all countries to be adequately represented, and recommended that the Director-General temporarily suspend hiring of personnel in countries whose quantitative over-representation could stand in the way of this objective. The Director-General had previously announced the ban he had placed on recruitment of French nationals.

While there was general agreement on the application of the principle of geographic distribution to staff recruitment, this was not the case when it came to granting contracts for indefinite periods. A resolution was introduced by certain delegations to the effect that the same principle be applied in granting such contracts, but others felt that this entailed some danger of injustice to the staff. The Director-General expressed his conviction that once a candidate had been appointed and had become a member of the Organization's personnel it would be unfair to allow his career to be affected by his nationality. The Canadian delegation then attempted to have the paragraph in question deleted, but succeeded only in obtaining a change in phraseology that does not entirely eliminate the danger.

In the Draft Program and Budget, the Director-General had proposed creat-



ing a second position of Deputy Director-General. However, in view of apparent misgivings and the opinions of certain member states, he decided to modify his initial proposal to the effect that the new position, covering the functions of long- and medium-range planning, be assigned to an Assistant Director-General. This new proposal was very favourably received.

### **Legal Committee**

Except for consideration of the draft amendment to the statutes of the Inter-Governmental Oceanographic Commission, mentioned above in the section on the natural sciences, the work of the Legal Committee, comprising 21 members, did not lead to controversy. This was because its debates were of a somewhat technical nature: for example, examination of the draft amendments to internal organization of the General Conference, and of the Committee, sought as far as possible to keep to the strictly legal aspects of the points submitted to it and to avoid discussion of fundamentals.

This, however, became increasingly difficult, as the fifteenth General Conference entrusted the Legal Committee with the task of examining reports by member states on submission to the appropriate national authorities of international instruments adopted by UNESCO. After studying the frequency and form of and analyzing the first reports presented on the recommendation dealing with the protection of cultural assets imperilled by public or private operations, and the procedure to be followed in another special case, the Legal Committee recommended that the General Conference review its functions at the next session, as it feared they no longer corresponded exactly to the mandate conferred upon it by the internal regulations of the General Conference. It is thus possible that this review will result in modifications tending to give the Committee a somewhat more political aspect.

The Legal Committee also reconsidered the temporary and experimental method of electing members to the Executive Board, adopted at the fifteenth session, which introduced a so-called "electoral groups" system. Although some member states continued to have reservations about this system, no serious objections were raised to its being kept in force at least until the next General Conference. A draft amendment was also presented to reduce the length of the term of members of the Executive Board from six to four years; this was not taken further.

In view of the importance which re-examination of the Legal Committee's functions could have, Canada agreed to submit its candidacy for the next session of the General Conference, and was elected for the fifth consecutive time.

# *Canadian Foreign Policy and International Law*

SPEECH BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP, TO THE INTERNATIONAL LAW  
ASSOCIATION AND THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS, IN MONTREAL, ON MARCH 29, 1971.

. . . I always embark upon speeches about international law with some trepidation, since I am neither a lawyer nor a professor. On the other hand, some eminent international jurists tell me that this might be a distinct advantage for a foreign minister. In any case, I can assure you that I have the highest regard for international lawyers, whether practising or preaching, and over the years I have benefited a great deal from their advice and assistance.

Perhaps I might begin this brief survey of current international legal developments by looking at the work of the United Nations, where so many of them have taken place. Since 1945 (admittedly with ups and downs, but with a definite ascending curve), the United Nations has been actively pursuing the goal of an international order based on the rule of law. In particular, the world organization has lead the way in enshrining basic principles of human rights and human dignity in international documents and legal instruments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and of Civil and Political Rights, of 1966, and the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, also of 1966, are accomplishments of great significance. The racial discrimination convention was ratified by Canada while the twenty-fifth United Nations General Assembly was meeting last autumn, and we are now pursuing with the provinces the question of becoming a party to the international covenants. These instruments, taken together with others dealing with refugees, relief and rehabilitation and the status of women, constitute, in a very real sense, an international human rights bill. Canada will continue to play a prominent role in all such international efforts to uphold and protect the fundamental rights of all peoples everywhere.

## **Environmental Law**

Another area of great importance is the development of international law relating to the environment. When we speak of the environment today, our minds automatically turn to pollution. However, the United Nations lawmaking activities in this field began with relatively unpolluted environmental regions such as outer space and the seabed. Only recently has the organization taken up the immense problems of the growing pollution of our soil, waters, and the air we

breathe. The 28-nation United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, of which Canada is a member, was responsible for the drafting of what may be called the outer-space "charter", the 1967 Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. In addition to postulating the peaceful character of space exploration and the rule that celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation, the treaty obliges states to avoid harmful contamination and damage to the earth's environment resulting from space activities.

In 1967, the General Assembly established a special committee to examine "the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the seabed and ocean-floor and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction and the use of their resources in the interest of mankind". This subject, with its far-reaching legal, political, economic and military implications, will be a matter of intense study and debate for some time to come. Canada was one of the 35 countries on the original committee, and we are currently an active member of the new enlarged preparatory committee for the 1973 Law of the Sea Conference, about which I shall have more to say shortly.

### **Nuclear-Arms Control**

A subject directly aligned to peaceful uses of space and the seabed is nuclear-arms control. Both the 1963 Partial Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty and the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, as well as the Seabed Arms Control Treaty of 1971, are significant landmarks. Endeavours to proscribe all chemical and bacteriological weapons of war and all underground nuclear tests are currently under way, and Canada is playing a major role in these discussions at the Geneva meeting of the United Nations Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

The United Nations has also been organizing efforts on a number of fronts in preparation for the Conference on Human Environment, which will be held in Stockholm in 1972, with Maurice Strong as Secretary-General. There have already been two preparatory committee meetings, in September of last year and this February. Canadian delegations participated actively at both sessions, in keeping with the vigorous role Canada has played nationally and internationally in the adoption of anti-pollution measures. In particular, we are attempting to gain general agreement that the proposed declaration on the human environment include substantive principles of international environmental law and not mere expressions of desirable objectives.

### **Attitude of Developing Nations**

One of the difficulties faced in the development of effective international law in this field is the attitude of the developing nations. The developing nations are very much aware that environmental pollution is a by-product of industrialization, itself an essential pre-condition of economic growth. These nations see in the



thrust toward international pollution control an attempt to preserve their countries as "game preserves", to use a colourful expression. Developments in international law must be in step with developments in technology that will enable the less-affluent nations to enjoy the benefits of industrialization without incurring the dangers of unacceptable levels of pollution.

This must come about in a way that will enable these countries to compete in international markets. There is no fair or acceptable way to require developing nations to build higher costs into their economies than are faced by the technologically-advanced nations. At the same time, any attempt to make an exception for the developing nations by providing lower standards of pollution control for them would be self-defeating. It would set up sanctuaries which would attract those industries responsible for the worst type of pollution, causing eccentric and unhealthy capital flows and laying up trouble for the future.

Problems of this kind remind us that advances in international law do not take place in a vacuum. The underlying political problems must first be solved, and political agreement reached. Generally speaking, this is the stage of greatest difficulty, where movement is slowest. Once political agreement is achieved, the writing of the law becomes a highly technical matter for experts.

### **Role of UN Specialized Agencies**

Still within the United Nations framework, the Specialized Agencies have also been very active in the creation of new international law. The work of one such agency, the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), is closely related to protection of the environment. Canada has been participating in preparing for the IMCO-sponsored Marine Pollution Conference to be held in 1973. The elaboration of a draft Convention on the Establishment of an International Fund for the Compensation of Victims of Oil Pollution is of particular concern to us. We are also involved in the Maritime Safety Committee of IMCO, which examines navigation and safety requirements for vessels and makes recommendations on those aspects of shipping.

Canada has a particular interest in shifting the emphasis of the Law of the Sea toward the protection of the interests of coastal states. The Law of the Sea has historically been written to protect the interest of the so-called flag states that have very great shipping industries, and has been designed to provide for the greatest possible freedom of movement and action for merchant fleets. Recent maritime disasters, such as the sinking of the *Arrow*, have brought home to us the need to combine maximum freedom of movement for shipping with essential controls to protect the coastal environment.

Canada's position in this general field of international law is well known. We strongly favour international co-operation to preserve the oceans of the world and the ecological balance of especially fragile areas. With the urgency of the problems in mind, the Government passed two important acts last year directed towards protecting the Canadian Arctic and the marine environment

and Canadian off-shore fisheries resources. Recent amendments to the Canada Shipping Act will impose stringent anti-pollution measures within Canada's territorial sea and newly-created fishing-zones. It is our hope that these moves on Canada's part will lead to international agreement, developing the new Law of the Sea so that it will be acceptable to coastal and flag states alike.

### **Law of the Sea Meeting**

The preparatory committee of the 1973 Law of the Sea Conference has just concluded a four-week meeting in Geneva. This has been primarily concerned with organizational preparations for the forthcoming conference, which we hope will further develop this important and dynamic field of law in all its facets. A major objective is to resolve, through multilateral agreement, the outstanding issues relating to the sea and the seabed which have been a source of differences among states and could lead to further differences in the future.

The Canadian delegation in Geneva last week outlined a process which could be implemented without awaiting the results of the 1973 Conference. This would involve the immediate determination, as of a stated date, of the minimum non-contentious area of the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction; the simultaneous establishment of an interim international machinery for that area; and the simultaneous creation of an "international development fund" to be derived from voluntary contributions made by the coastal states on the basis of a fixed percentage of revenues accruing from off-shore exploitation beyond the outer limits of their internal waters. We are looking forward with interest to the reaction to the Canadian suggestion. It will be discussed at the next preparatory committee meeting this summer.

Canada has been actively involved in all these efforts to lay down accepted norms in international legal instruments directed towards preserving and promoting the peaceful uses of our environmental heritage, under the rule of law. We shall continue our support for the development and expansion of the areas subject to such rule. For example, we have been pressing for several years for the conclusion of an effective liability convention in respect of objects launched into outer space. The Canadian position on this question has consistently favoured a victim-oriented treaty that will ensure that just and equitable compensation will be paid to states suffering loss due to injurious space activities.

### **Role of ICAO**

When examining the creation of new international law, we must certainly take note of the recent efforts of the International Civil Aviation Organization. ICAO, with its headquarters here in Montreal, has recently made important strides in its fight to prevent and deter aircraft hijackings and other forms of unlawful interference with air transport. The kind of international legal framework being developed, including the 1963 Tokyo Convention on Crimes on Board Aircraft, the 1970 Hague Convention on Hijacking, and the draft Unlawful Interference

Convention (to be subject of a diplomatic conference this September) will contribute substantially to maintaining and promoting safety in the air. As a major aviation country and as a member of the ICAO Council, Canada has been especially active in the field of international air law, one in which we did a lot of the pioneering work in the forties and fifties and to which we continue to attach a very high degree of importance.

### **Humanitarian Law**

There has recently been significant activity in the development of international humanitarian law, which is generally based on the four Geneva Red Cross Conventions of 1949. Since that immediate postwar era, events have shown that the Conventions should be strengthened and extended, to make them more effective in the kinds of conflict that are all too prevalent today. In particular, Canada and a number of other countries would like to see the adoption of more comprehensive, internationally-accepted standards of conduct with respect to civilian populations in non-international conflict situations, such as the recent war in Nigeria. At the 1969 International Red Cross Conference in Istanbul, the Canadian delegation presented a number of proposals on the subject which received widespread support. The International Committee of the Red Cross has now convened a meeting of governmental experts on humanitarian law to take place in Geneva at the end of May. Canada will be taking an active part with a view to securing agreement on provisions that could be incorporated in one or more international accords, supplementing and augmenting the 1949 Conventions. The United Nations has also given this matter serious attention and its Secretariat has been working in close collaboration with the Red Cross and interested governments.

One other field of international endeavour which has become of special interest to Canada concerns international action to prevent and deter the kidnapping of diplomats and other related acts of terrorism. These types of unlawful act place responsible governments in extremely difficult situations. In order to develop an international legal framework to deal with this threat to normal diplomatic activity, the Organization of American States and the Council of Europe have independently been examining the possibility of drafting international conventions. We are, of course, following these developments very closely and we have been in contact with the OAS and other governments so that Canadian views and interest will be taken into account.

### **No Effective Enforcement**

All these activities I have been reviewing are directed towards fostering international co-operation and better regulating man's peaceful use of the substance and attributes of the world and universe in which we live. However, dissession, disagreement, and disputes are an inevitable part of international affairs as conducted by sovereign states. The years since the last world conflict have indeed



witnessed some progress in providing for their pacific resolution. Nevertheless, it is a fact — and current crises in several regions of the globe bear this illuminating testimony — that we have not yet created or established effective machinery for enforcing such international law as already exists. It seems to me that the international community is still bound up with outdated notions that impede the settlement of differences by peaceful means. The 1969 Law of Treaties Convention, to which Canada became a party last December, makes a substantial contribution to the uniformity and applicability of international rules relating to treaties. But we have not yet succeeded in developing a similar codification of a compulsory third-party settlement of disputes procedure. While I honestly wish I could say to you that this object will be realized soon, I am afraid that contemporary international relations do not bode particularly well with respect to banishing strife and conflict in favour of law and diplomacy. Yet responsible persons in government, in international organizations, and in private professional and academic institutions and associations must continue to press for an end to the use of force as a means of settling disputes. While the millenium is certainly not at hand, it can perhaps be brought a little less distant.

If progress is to be made, nations must give up narrow and anachronistic ideas of sovereignty. This raises a complex and emotionally-charged subject. I for one do not regard acceptance of limitations on sovereignty as unthinkable. We have already accepted such limitations in the economic and communications fields; these should point the way to acceptance of limitations of sovereignty in the interests of peace and security. I hope that Canada will find a way to provide leadership toward such a worthwhile goal.

## **World Court**

In my view it would not be proper to discuss international law without mentioning the International Court of Justice. Canadian views on increasing the effectiveness of the World Court are well known. The Canadian delegation at last year's United Nations General Assembly supported an adopted resolution entitled "Review of the role of the ICJ". By means of this resolution member states of the United Nations, and states parties to the Statute of the Court, were invited to submit to the Secretary-General suggestions concerning the role of the Court, on the basis of a questionnaire to be prepared by the Secretariat. In the light of these comments, and those which the ICJ itself may wish to put forward, the Secretary-General is to prepare a comprehensive report to be available for the twenty-sixth session of the Assembly. The questionnaire has recently been received in Ottawa and we are at present engaged in formulating the Canadian views to be transmitted to United Nations headquarters. This initiative, which, as the resolution states, "should seek to facilitate the greatest possible contribution by the Court to the advancement of the rule of law and the promotion of justice among nations", is most welcome. Canada has always supported and will continue to

support all such efforts to help the ICJ to continue to serve, with renewed effectiveness, as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

Before concluding, I should like to say a very few words to this distinguished audience about the skilled practitioners of the art of legal diplomacy. Many nations, including Canada, rely to a great extent on these experts to develop, promote and create a body of generally acceptable international law that is materially relevant to the modern age in which we live. This speaks much more eloquently than any individual foreign minister can of the reliance and trust that is placed in them. I also believe that their continuing contact with important professional and academic institutions and associations, such as the ILA and CIIA, can help these legal experts to keep fully aware and take into account informed opinion on these detailed and complex subjects. This is another reason I am pleased to have had the opportunity of addressing you this evening — to maintain and enhance this relationship between the foreign-policy making branch of the Government, which is directly concerned with international law, and the Canadian professional and academic community of which your associations are a significant and influential part.

# *Colombo Plan Consultative Committee*

MANILA MEETING, 1971

CANADA re-emphasized its continuing interest in the development of South and Southeast Asia at the annual meeting of the 21-year-old Colombo Plan Consultative Committee, held in Manila in February of this year. The conference had originally been scheduled for November 1970, but was postponed owing to the damage caused by a typhoon that ravaged the Philippines at that time.

In nominating His Excellency Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, as chairman of the 1971 meeting, Canada's representative on the Committee, Mr. André Ouellet, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, said:

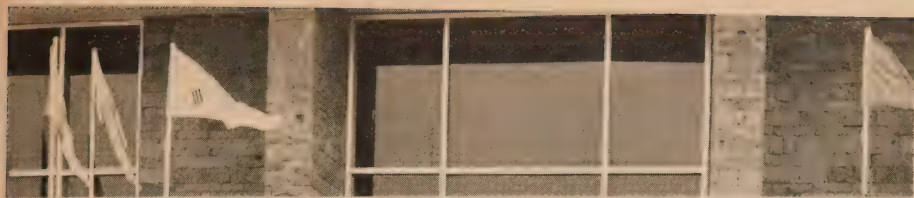
In Canada last year, we completed an overall review of our foreign policy, including our international development policy, in order to adapt it to the changing realities of the world in which we live. Out of this review has come a Canadian determination to reaffirm our responsibilities as a Pacific nation. We will be placing increasing emphasis on co-operation in development assistance, on exchanges in science and technology and on the expansion of trade. This reaffirmation of Canadian interest in South and Southeast Asia, a region which has received the most substantial share of Canadian international development assistance, will, we hope, expand our contribution to co-operative development, in both quantity and quality.

The Colombo Plan, which was established in Ceylon in 1950, provides a multilateral framework for a series of bilateral relations among its 18 regional and six non-regional member countries, to facilitate the social and economic development of South and Southeast Asia. The principal organ of the Plan, the Consultative Committee, meets each year to review progress in the area as a whole and consider future requirements, to hear reports from each country on its economic development achievements, plans and problems, and to exchange views on developmental questions. As part of its work, the Committee approves an annual report that provides a survey of development in the area in general and in each country, and outlines the tasks that lie ahead. The Colombo Plan does not, however, administer assistance programs. These are undertaken on a bilateral basis between member countries offering assistance and those requesting it.

## **Canada's Aid Record**

Since the beginning of the Colombo Plan, Canada, one of the founding members, has contributed over \$1.2 billion in development assistance to the countries of South and Southeast Asia. The funds have been provided for capital projects, technical assistance, industrial commodities and food aid. In addition, more than 5,000 persons from the region have received training in Canada in a wide range of academic, technical and vocational courses. Some 800 teachers and advisers have also gone to the Colombo Plan area as experts in various fields.





*The delegates to the Manila meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee pose for a group photograph.*

This year's conference was organized in accordance with a series of decisions taken at the 1969 meeting of the Consultative Committee in Victoria, British Columbia. Under the new arrangements, the duration of the conference was shortened from three weeks to ten days, the committee structure was streamlined and improved procedures for the handling of conference business were introduced. With the officials' meeting given the primary responsibility for reaching conclusions on the normal business of the conference, and in particular for the preparation of the annual report, it was considered that the ministerial meeting would be free to focus its attention on key questions affecting development in South and Southeast Asia.

The Manila meeting began with an officials' meeting, which took place from February 16 to 20. At these sessions, senior officials from development ministries of member countries examined the development record in the Colombo Plan area since the preceding conference, discussed a number of questions of technical co-operation, studied this year's special topic—"International Assistance for Education for Development"—and completed consideration of the annual report. In preparation for the ministerial meeting, held from February 23 to 25, officials also recommended a list of major issues for discussion at the Consultative Committee meeting. Canada's team of officials was headed by the Vice-President of the Canadian International Development Agency, Mr. George P. Kidd.

Opening the ministerial meeting, President Marcos of the Philippines called for a reappraisal of the policies and programs of co-operative assistance aimed

at achieving development with social justice, one of the major issues selected for discussion. The Committee found this subject to be of widespread concern to both donor and recipient countries of the Colombo Plan, but recognized that the precise measures for achieving development with social justice must be determined solely by the governments of developing countries. The donor countries offered to consider sympathetically requests for assistance to allow such measures to be taken.

From an examination of another major issue — development and education — which arose out of consideration of the special topic, the ministerial group concluded that there was a need for revision or adaptation of the educational systems in the developing countries in order to relate them more closely to development goals. They felt that, in many countries, education outside the formal school system required greater emphasis.

In a discussion of the issue of population policy in international development, the Committee noted that the ultimate aim of such a policy was the improvement of the whole quality of life, and not merely the control of fertility. It heard suggestions that an urgent necessity was the discovery of new contraceptives that would be widely available and more efficient for use in rural areas. Support was given at the meeting to a suggestion that financing for population-control programs should come preferably from multilateral sources.

Ministers attending the conference recognized that in some developing countries the level of certain types of technical competence had reached the point where equipment provided by donor countries did not necessarily need to be accompanied by the loan of experts. Although it was noted that some donor countries already permitted this practice, the Committee urged that greater use be made of the expertise available in developing countries.

The last issue considered was that of public attitudes and trends on aid. The Committee observed that public opinion had an important influence on aid flows, and recommended that public information programs in both donor and recipient countries should encourage the understanding of the long-term nature of the development process, in order to avoid impatience or frustration.

### **Easier Loans Proposed**

In its discussions, the Committee also noted that a general softening of lending terms — loosening of aid-tying restrictions and increasing trade liberalization — provided a way of easing the growing debt burden of several developing countries. The Committee also recognized that the technical-assistance program of the Colombo Plan was a continually effective mechanism for the exchange of technical knowledge and skills among member countries. With a view to furthering the development of regional training, the Committee decided to appoint consultants to look into the implications of establishing a Regional Centre for Technician Teacher Training in the Colombo Plan area.

Member countries attending the conference were Afghanistan, Australia,

Bhutan, Britain, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, the Khmer Republic (formerly Cambodia), the Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, the United States and Vietnam. The Director of the Colombo Plan Bureau was seated as a participating member, as in Victoria. Representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands attended for the first time as observers. Other observers present were from the Asian Development Bank, the Asian Institute of Technology, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the United Nations Development Program, the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labour Organization, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organization.

The next meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee is planned for New Delhi in the autumn of 1972.



## *Canada at Oceanexpo*

**T**HIS year, for the first time, Canada took part in OCEANEXPO, a major international event devoted to the exploration and development of the world's oceans, which was held in Bordeaux from March 9 to 14. The 1971 OCEANEXPO included an exhibition, a seminar, an industrial film festival and scientific demonstrations aboard nine oceanographic ships flying the flags of various participating countries. The exhibition brought together at the Parc des Expositions (one of Europe's most modern exhibition parks) about 200 govern-



*The Prime Minister of France and Mayor of Bordeaux, Mr. Jacques Chaban-Delmas (right), is greeted on his arrival at OCEANEXPO by the Canadian Consul General in Bordeaux, Mr. Pierre Dumas, and Mrs. Dumas.*

ment and private exhibitors occupying some 6,000 square yards of display space. The many stalls contained exhibits dealing with the exploration of the oceans, marine resources, maritime transportation, the equipping of port areas, sea fisheries, trade in the products of the sea, and the use of electronics in marine research and operations. OCEANEXPO was attended by several thousand visitors and by marine experts from many lands.

Canada was represented at the exhibition by a sizable display stand sponsored by the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, with the participation of 22 Canadian firms and two sections of the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources that were scheduled to become part of the projected Department of the Environment. Numerous visitors were thus able to obtain information on Canada's most recent achievements in oceanology, and to establish useful contacts with members of the Canadian delegation. The Prime Minister of France, Mr. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, who is also Mayor of Bordeaux, paid a personal visit to the Canadian exhibit, where he was welcomed by Canada's Consul General in Bordeaux, Mr. Pierre Dumas, and the other members of the Canadian delegation to OCEANEXPO. Mr. Dumas presented Mr. Chaban-Delmas with a picture-book on Canada as a memento of his visit. The Canadian display was also visited by the world-famous underwater explorer, Commander Jean-Yves Cousteau.

The Canadian delegation to OCEANEXPO, which consisted of 27 members, was headed by Mr. W. M. Cameron, Director of the Marine Sciences Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. Mr. M. J. Colpitts, Chief of the Marine Division, Industry and Trade Development Programs, Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, acted as deputy head. Among the 190 scientific presentations at the international seminar, mention should be made of a study submitted by Mr. F. R. Laflamme, Sales Director, Air Canada, entitled "Role of Air Transport in the Fisheries Industry". A National Film Board entry in the industrial film festival, *L'odyssée du Manhattan*, received special mention. The Canadian Consul General and Mrs. Dumas held a reception for the Canadian delegation, which was also attended by the directors of OCEANEXPO, as well as by numerous local personalities and representatives of the information media.



## *Mexico-Canada Air Pact Broadened*

ON March 24, 1971, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations, His Excellency Lic. Emilio O. Rabasa, and the Canadian Ambassador to Mexico, Dr. Saul F. Rae, signed an agreement to amend and broaden the Agreement on Air Transport of December 21, 1961, between their countries. The amendments were negotiated in November 1970 in Mexico City by a Canadian delegation headed by Mr. Gerald Morrissey, Chairman, International Transport Policy Committee, Canadian Transport Commission, and a Mexican delegation led by Mr. Guillermo Prieto Arguelles, Director-General of Civil Aviation.

The amendments increase the number of routes which may be flown by the designated carriers now operating air-services between Mexico and Canada. Under the revised bilateral agreement, new traffic points have been added, including Edmonton and Winnipeg in Canada and, in Mexico, Acapulco and certain other points on the Pacific Coast and three points in the Yucatan area. In addition, the services operated between the two countries will provide more frequent flights.

The airline designated by the Mexican Government may operate services from Mexico, D. F., Acapulco or Guadalajara to Calgary or Vancouver; from Mexico, Acapulco or Guadalajara to Windsor, Toronto or Montreal; from Cozumel, Cancun or Mérida to Toronto or Montreal.



*The Mexican Minister for Foreign Relations, Mr. Emilio O. Rabasa (right), exchanges copies with the Canadian Ambassador to Mexico, Dr. Saul F. Rae, of the amended Air Agreement they have just finished signing.*



The airline designated by Canada may operate services from Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary or Winnipeg to Guadalajara, Mexico, or Acapulco; from Montreal, Toronto or Windsor to Guadalajara, Puerto Vallarta, Mexico, or Acapulco; and from Vancouver or Calgary to La Paz, San José del Cabo, Mazatlan or Puerto Vallarta.

The new arrangements will permit a further expansion in air-services between Mexico and Canada and thus serve to strengthen the close and friendly relations that already exist between the two countries.

## *ICAO Secretary-General in Ottawa*

ON April 7, 1971, the Secretary-General of the International Civil Aviation Organization, Dr. Assad Kotaite, paid an official visit to Ottawa, during which he made calls on Governor-General Roland Michener, Prime Minister Trudeau and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp. A lunch given in his honour by Mr. Sharp was attended by the Minister of Public Works, the Honourable Arthur Laing, the President of the Canadian Transport Commission, the Honourable J. W. Pickersgill, and senior officials of the Departments of External Affairs and Transport. Dr. Kotaite, who travelled to and from Ottawa by government aircraft, was accompanied by the Canadian representative on the ICAO Council, Mr. Henri Gourdeau.

The visit marked an important development in Canada's relations with ICAO as host government to that Organization. The Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Secretary-General signed an exchange of notes under the terms of which the Canadian Government will make an annual grant of \$1.1 million to ICAO to assist it in meeting the costs of its new headquarters premises in Montreal. Since 1947, when ICAO officially came into existence as the Specialized



*During his recent official visit to Ottawa, Dr. Assad Kotaite, Secretary-General of ICAO (left), meets Prime Minister Trudeau.*

Agency of the United Nations concerned with international civil aviation, it has, on the invitation of the Canadian Government, made its headquarters in Canada. With the rapid development of international air transport and the increase of the membership of the Organization from 26 to 120 states, ICAO has outgrown its headquarters accommodation and the Canadian Government grant will enable it to move to new and more spacious quarters of its own choice in Montreal.

The visit of April 7 was Dr. Kotaite's first to Ottawa as Secretary-General of ICAO. Lebanese by nationality, Dr. Kotaite is a graduate in law of the French University of Beirut and a Doctor of Laws of the University of Paris. He has also studied at the Institut des Hautes études internationales of the University of Paris and at the Academy of International Law of The Hague. Following a period with the Lebanese Directorate of Civil Aviation, Dr. Kotaite was appointed representative of Lebanon on the Council of ICAO, where he served from 1956 to 1962 and from 1965 to 1970, when he was elected to a five-year term as Secretary-General of the Organization.



## CONFERENCES

Plenipotentiary Conference on Definitive Arrangements for the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium: Washington, April 14 - mid-May  
ECOSOC, fiftieth session: New York, April 26 - May 21  
Economic Commission for Latin America: Santiago, April 27 - May 7  
UNESCO Executive Board, eighty-seventh session: Paris, April 28 - May 14  
ITU Administrative Council: Geneva, May 1-21  
IADB Board of Governors: Washington, May 10-14  
WHO, World Health Assembly, twenty-fourth session: Geneva, May 4-21  
Special International Conference of UNIDO: Vienna, June 1-8  
International Narcotics Control Board: Geneva, May - June  
Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council: Lisbon, June 3-4  
ILO Conference: Geneva, June 2-24  
UNDP: Santiago, June 7-25  
UNDP: Governing Council: Geneva, June  
ITU, World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications: Geneva  
June 7 - July 16  
ICAO Assembly: Vienna, June 15 - July 8  
World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing: Vancouver, July 5-16  
International Federation for Information Processing, fifth congress: Ljubljana, Yugoslavia  
August 23-28  
Fourth Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, September 6-16  
Commonwealth Finance Ministers Meeting: Nassau, September 23-24  
Fifteenth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency: Vienna  
September 23-30  
Third Commonwealth Medical Conference: Port Louis, Mauritius, November 2-12

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## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. G. L. Bryson transferred from the Department of External Affairs to the Ministry of Transport effective March 1, 1971.  
Mr. G. A. Hanna appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Financial Administrator 3, effective March 1, 1971.  
Mr. J. P. Juneau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective March 1, 1971.  
Miss D. Desilets appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective March 1, 1971.  
Mr. P. R. Lishchynski appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective March 1, 1971.  
Mr. D. J. McLellan appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective March 1, 1971.  
Mr. J. F. Myles appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective March 1, 1971.  
Miss K. D. Verdone appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 2, effective February 1, 1971. Posted to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective March 1, 1971.  
Mr. K. C. Brown, Canadian Ambassador to Cuba, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Haiti, effective March 4, 1971.  
Mr. H. E. Millerson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Stockholm, effective March 23, 1971.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *Department of External Affairs*

## *Headquarters Organization*

*The following statement was tabled by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. A. E. Ritchie, during the meeting on May 5, 1971, of the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on External Affairs and National Defence:*

In order to meet the challenges of coming decades, the Government needs a strong and highly flexible foreign affairs department. In order better to respond to this need, the Department of External Affairs, during the past few months, has undergone a quite extensive reorganization. The purpose of this paper is to describe briefly the basic structures of the new organizations.

The new organization conforms to the principles of integrated and accountable management which the Government is seeking to implement throughout the Public Service. Because Canada's external policies and programs are subject to influences, sometimes profound, beyond the control of the Canadian Government, External Affairs headquarters has to be able to cope with special problems. The basic instrument of management is a system of country plans and programs which provides the flexibility necessary to shape and manage programs carried out in relatively small packages all over the world. In addition, however, continuous policy formulation and revision is needed, extending far beyond the compass of its country plans and programs.

The organization of the headquarters has thus been designed to encourage the closest possible relationship between the discharge of operational responsibilities and the continuous development of the policy framework within which operations must be conducted.

### **Organization**

The main body of the Department is composed of a number of bureaux whose formation has been the principal focus of the new headquarters organization. The bureaux have either (I) area, (II) functional, or (III) administrative responsibilities, and each is managed by a director-general.

I — Four area bureaux have been established: African and Middle Eastern Affairs; Asian and Pacific Affairs; European Affairs; and Western Hemisphere Affairs. To the directors-general of these bureaux, the Under-Secretary has delegated his authority for the management of operations in their regions, including country program planning, resource planning and control, and policy guidance to missions. They will also participate in the policy development process as it applies to their respective areas of responsibility. It is through the development of effective country planning and programming, as the nucleus of the Depart





Mr. A. E. Ritchie, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (left), examines a copy of the minutes of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence with the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Ian Wahn.

ment's integrated management system, that the Government intends to ensure that the conduct of its relations with other nations and the activities it carries out abroad are related to its overall policy objectives and that the human and financial resources are correspondingly deployed.

II — To correspond to the area bureaux, other bureaux are organized on a functional basis: Economic and Scientific Affairs; Defence and Arms Control

Affairs; Legal and Consular Affairs; United Nations Affairs; Public Affairs; and Co-ordination (including federal-provincial affairs in their international context). Issue-oriented or functional bureaux address themselves to several needs:

- (a) Domestic departments of government are organized on a functional basis and the bureaux reflect these areas of direct concern to other government departments. Moreover, major issues of foreign policy are frequently, almost by definition, ones where significant and often varied domestic interests must be co-ordinated and reconciled. The functional units in External Affairs help to develop and maintain the co-ordinated approach toward these issues which is necessary to the Government's interests.
- (b) In the event that several foreign countries have common interests to discuss in a functional discipline, it is useful to develop discussions from a functional point of view, once area interests have been taken into consideration. Also, multilateral institutions and agencies are generally organized on a functional basis.
- (c) There are also issues which require a particular expertise to negotiate, which might not normally be found elsewhere in the Department or the Government (e.g., specific economic or legal expertise).

Generally, therefore, the functional bureaux maintain an overview of international relations in their particular functional disciplines for purposes of planning, monitoring and evaluating policies. They develop and maintain a co-ordinated approach to matters of primary concern to other departments and agencies of the Government.

The Department's structures depend on a continuing dialogue between functional and area bureaux. Each regional bureau, in its capacity as the co-ordinating centre responsible for the shaping and management of country plans and programs, ensures that the functional interests are appropriately reflected in its operations. Similarly, functional bureaux respect in the management of their operations the interests of the regional bureaux. The two perspectives are complementary, and in union generate a sensitive and thorough approach to the complexities of the Department's operations.

III — The *administrative* bureaux form the rest of the headquarters bureau structure: Communications and Information Systems; Finance and Administration; and Personnel. The importance of these support bureaux can hardly be overstated. They operate the machinery for External Affairs' widely-distributed operations and, in consultation with the area bureaux, help to administer the resources.

IV — The Under-Secretary and Associate Under-Secretary between them carry general responsibility for departmental policy and operations. Together with the Assistant Under-Secretaries, they form a team with responsibility for the main areas of foreign policy and the application to them of the policy themes set out in *Foreign Policy for Canadians*.

## **Delegation of Authority**

In order for top management to be free to focus on the area of policy formulation and direction, responsibility for departmental operations within established policy has been delegated to the directors-general of bureaux. In this way, personnel resources can be utilized to the maximum, constantly providing management, against a background of rapidly-evolving events, the kind of information and policy options which the Government will require to be able to take advantage of new opportunities. The most evident structural characteristic is, therefore, the decentralization of the Department's new organization. The new structure intends to exploit the advantages offered by adoption of the concept of country planning and management. This concept, by its very nature, facilitates differentiation between those matters which require decisions to be taken at the senior management level and those which can now be made at the level of management immediately responsible for the direction of operations.

Decentralization has enabled the senior management to concentrate on policy, while keeping in touch with related operations whose primary management has been delegated to directors-general. This is essential if we are to succeed in carrying out the design projected in the White Paper on foreign policy. The Assistant Under-Secretaries now have greater freedom to participate in discussions on specific problems with foreign governments, to undertake special assignments in areas of the world of particular current concern to them, to consult closely with other departments whose interests are reflected in our foreign activities, and to attend conferences at home and abroad. They are also available to head special teams or task forces on international subjects of exceptional importance and urgency, particularly when these span the interests of several bureaux within the department or several departments of the Government.

V — Linked with the exercise of the Under-Secretary's responsibilities are certain functions which must be carried out under the Under-Secretarial Group's direct control, such as security and relationships with the diplomatic corps. The Press Office is also associated with the Under-Secretarial Group. In addition, the Central Staff and the Operations Centre provide a briefing and administrative assistance secretariat, and perform a liaison and co-ordinating function. The Policy Analysis Group, with particular responsibilities for longer-term considerations, also reports directly to the Under-Secretary.

It is believed that the structures described above are suitable for shaping foreign policy and conducting the foreign operations of the Government in the years to come.



# *Canada and the Organization of American States*

IT is one of the ironies of history that during the 1930s, when Canada was inclined favourably towards the inter-American organization that was then called the Pan-American Union, some misgivings about Canadian membership were expressed by the United States and others on the grounds that Canada's special links with Britain called into question Canada's eligibility. These circumstances were inverted following the Second World War, when Canada emerged as a significant middle power, and there is little doubt that it would have been welcomed as a full partner in the hemispheric community. Yet, simultaneously, the Second World War also increased Canada's involvement in Europe and eradicated any vestiges of the New World isolationism that had characterized Canada's earlier interest in the Pan-American Union. Other influences worked in the same direction. The expansion of the Commonwealth with its great need for development assistance attracted Canada's attention away from its own hemisphere. The United Nations became a vital element in Canadian foreign policy and, although this involved closer co-operation with Canada's Latin American neighbours, the horizons of world organization distracted Canada from any intensification of regional interests. In defence and collective security arrangements, Canadian interests were perceived in a North Atlantic rather than a hemispheric context. Another factor, the projection of Canada's bicultural identity abroad through greater involvement in the countries of La Francophonie, reinforced Canada's global rather than regional orientation.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the earlier Canadian interest in the Organization of American States and the inter-American system was not pursued very assiduously. Meanwhile, however, Canadians and Canadian enterprises had been expanding their activities in Latin America and there was an increasing awareness of the somewhat anomalous situation in which Canada, a western hemisphere nation, had concentrated its external interests outside the hemisphere, with the exception of its all-embracing relations with the United States. At a time of growing recognition of regional realities, the Canadian Government sent a ministerial mission, led by five Cabinet ministers, to visit many of the Latin American countries in 1968. The results of this important initiative were thoroughly analyzed and the findings were incorporated in the sector paper on Latin America that formed part of the Canadian Government's foreign policy review entitled *Foreign Policy for Canadians*.

## **Latin American Policy**

On June 30, 1970, Mr. J. P. Goyer, who was then Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, outlined, in an address to the General



Mr. André Ouellet, the leader of Canada's observer delegation to the General Assembly of the OAS, addresses a meeting of the Assembly. Seated beyond Mr. Ouellet is Mrs. Alzora Aldridge of the United States, the liaison officer for non-member states, and in the front of the photograph are Mr. Gonzalo Facio, the Foreign Minister of Costa Rica (with his back to the camera) and Dr. Gulo Plaza, Secretary-General of the OAS (wearing earphones).



Assembly of the Organization of American States, one of the principal considerations in Canada's new Latin American policy:

... If the member countries of the OAS should be agreeable, the Canadian Government would be interested in establishing a formal link between Canada and the OAS at a suitable level. We should envisage a Canadian representative as having the status of a permanent observer.

This proposal was a reflection of the following part of the foreign policy review:

A decision to seek membership in the OAS could be based upon the recognition that there is a certain trend toward regionalism in the world as a whole and on a conviction that the most effective manner for Canada to make its weight felt in all matters of importance in the hemisphere is to participate fully in the work of the OAS and the organizations related to it. On the other hand, soundings indicate that, while the OAS countries would welcome Canada as a member of the organization, they are not so much interested in Canadian membership as such as in closer relations with Canada inside or outside the OAS. The Government's purpose is to develop closer relations with Latin America to the mutual advantage of Canada and the Latin American countries. It may be that, at a certain point in time, a Canadian Government will conclude that Canada could best foster this purpose by joining the OAS. In the meantime, Canada should draw closer to individual Latin American countries and to selected inter-American institutions, thus preparing for whatever role it may in future be called upon to play in the Western Hemisphere and gaining the experience which is indispensable, in a complex *milieu* which few Canadians yet know very intimately.

The status of permanent observer, or any formal link short of membership in the OAS, was not envisaged in the Organization's statutes. In a sense, therefore, Canada was asking the OAS not only to accept a special Canadian relationship but also to amend its procedures to make this feasible. Nor was this merely a matter of institutional semantics. The OAS charter stipulates that countries that have territorial disputes with members of the Organization may not join the OAS. Barred from membership by this stipulation, some countries have sought alternative forms of association, such as accreditation as permanent observers, while their adversaries have endeavoured to foreclose these possibilities. Meanwhile some non-hemisphere nations expressed a desire to be associated with the OAS. The Organization's Permanent Council was instructed to seek a solution to these problems but was unable to report real progress when the General Assembly of the OAS met at San José in April of this year.

### **Search for a Solution**

Canada's observer delegation to the General Assembly, led by Mr. André Ouellet, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, persevered in search of a solution that would accommodate the Canadian interest. At the Assembly, Mr. Ouellet reiterated the reasons why Canada wished to accredit a permanent observer mission to the OAS:

An observer mission would not only be accredited to and co-operate with the Organization of American States, but would also be an integral part of the Canadian government's apparatus, committed to furthering our relations with this most important inter-American institution. It would be a repository of considerable technical knowledge on the mechanism of co-operation in our hemisphere and an invaluable source of information for our guidance in allocating funds for Latin America. Decisions that Canada must make will be based on a better understanding of Latin American needs if we receive regular and documented information from the Organization of American States.





*Present at the recent General Assembly of the OAS (left to right): Mr. André Ouellet, leader of the Canadian observer delegation; Dr. Galo Plaza, OAS Secretary-General; Mr. Gonzalo Facio, Foreign Minister of Costa Rica; Mr. D. Munro, Canadian Ambassador to Costa Rica; and U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations.*

Primarily in response to Canadian aspirations, the General Assembly approved a resolution creating the status of permanent observer to the OAS and entrusting the OAS Permanent Council with the working-out of the timing, the criteria and the modalities for implementing this resolution. The Canadian Government expects this process to be completed during the forthcoming months and expects soon to be able to appoint Canada's first permanent observer.

The most recent General Assembly was an appropriate forum for Mr. Ouellet to outline the Canadian Government's intentions and the steps that had been taken so far. It also provided an opportunity for Canadian officials to meet with the delegates from the Latin American countries and the various inter-American organizations and to discuss with them Canada's collaboration with the countries of the hemisphere in many fields. Among the issues of wide interest at the conference were such subjects as disarmament and limitations on arms purchases, institutional developments in international trade and the expansion of exports of the developing member states of the OAS, the role of women in development in Latin America and the work of the Inter-American Commission of Women, and the emigration of professional and technical personnel from the Latin American countries.

### **Membership in Other Institutions**

Although the OAS is the principal hemispheric organization, the inter-American

system is a complex of many different institutions. Canada now belongs to five of these: the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History; the Inter-American Centre of Tax Administrators; the Inter-American Statistical Institute; the Centre for Latin American Monetary Studies; and the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain. Canada also belongs to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) and regularly sends observers to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council (of the OAS) and the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress. In accord with Canada's new Latin American policy of strengthening links with the inter-American system, Canada is preparing to join the Pan-American Health Organization, the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, the Inter-American Indian Institute and the Inter-American Conference on Social Security. Canada has also agreed to support the work of the Inter-American Export Promotion Centre. Canada is not a member of the Inter-American Development Bank but has contributed more than \$60 million to the Bank for development loans.

Canada is thus forging new and stronger relations with the Latin American countries and with hemispheric institutions. Among the most vital of these is Canada's first formal link with the OAS, which should be established in 1971.

# *Visit to Europe*

A STATEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON APRIL 29, 1971.

BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,

THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP

I HAVE just returned from Europe, where I had the honour to accompany the Governor General and Mrs. Michener on a series of official visits to the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. Queen Juliana and the Prince of the Netherlands, the King and Queen of Belgium and the Grand Duke and Duchess of Luxembourg received Their Excellencies with great kindness. These visits served to underline the closeness of the bonds of kinship and affection between Canada and the host countries, bonds forged by a shared history, strengthened by comradeship in two World Wars and maintained by our alliance in NATO. His Excellency reminded his hosts in all three countries of the contribution made by so many Canadians of Benelux origin to the development of Canada and the friendship between our countries. He stressed the growing importance of trading relations and scientific and cultural exchanges. I am sure I speak for us all when I thank the governments and people of the Benelux countries for the warm welcome given to the Governor General and Mrs. Michener wherever they went. Their Excellencies took advantage of their visits to the Netherlands and Belgium to join with their hosts in paying homage to the Canadian dead of two World Wars by visits to Canadian cemeteries at Holten and in Flanders.

While in Europe, I had useful talks on a number of questions, including particularly the Common Market, with the Benelux governments, the Italian Government, members of the European Economic Commission and the Secretary-General of NATO. Our Ambassadors to France and Germany joined me for a day of discussions in Brussels, enabling me to have some contact with all six countries of the European Economic Community.

## **EEC Enlargement**

The principal subject of all my talks was the current negotiation for the enlargement of the Community. As the House is aware, the Government, through meetings at the ministerial level, diplomatic representations and public speeches, has been making known over a period of many months Canadian concern about some of the effects of the anticipated enlargement of the Common Market. The Government is not opposed to the broadening and deepening of the Community; on the contrary, we see this development as an important contribution to greater stability and prosperity in Europe and the world. We have urged, however, that



it is neither desirable nor necessary that this economic unification should take place at the expense of third countries like Canada. We have made concrete proposals to minimize the possible adverse effects of enlargement. In the same constructive spirit, we have urged the Community to be open and outward-looking and non-discriminatory in its trading policies, and to do everything to avoid a trade confrontation with the United States costly to themselves, to us and the Western world as a whole.

While in Europe, I re-emphasized these points, as did my colleague the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, who, as the House knows, was in Bonn at the same time. I went a step further on this occasion and urged both



*During his recent European visit, Mr. Sharp is received in private audience by His Holiness Pope Paul VI.*

the member governments and the Commission of the EEC to give serious consideration to the establishment of procedures for regular consultation with Canada. Honourable members will readily understand that, if and when enlargement is achieved, relations between Canada and the other great trading entities — the European Community, the United States and Japan — as well as among these entities themselves, will assume even greater significance for us and for them. It will be a different trading world.

I believe I am justified in saying that the Canadian concerns are fully understood in Europe and that the response has been positive, principally because our fundamental attitude to European unity has been constructive. We shall continue to press our case on every suitable occasion during the months ahead when crucial decisions are to be made.

While in Brussels, I signed, on behalf of Canada, an Agreement for Scientific and Technical Co-operation with Belgium<sup>(1)</sup>. This Agreement will facilitate and encourage expansion of scientific, industrial and technological co-operation between our countries. The Agreement illustrates how Canada is broadening the scope of its relations with Europe, one of our major policy objectives, so identified in the Government's foreign policy review.

While in Rome, I was received in audience by the Pope. Our discussion ranged over the troubled areas of the world and concentrated upon the Middle East, which is one of His Holiness' gravest concerns. The Pope recalled with pleasure a visit he paid to Canada some twenty years ago, and the expression of his warm sentiments for this country brought to mind the thoughtful comment he made in 1969 when he said that the forces uniting Canadians seemed to him stronger than the forces that tend to divide us.

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<sup>1)</sup> See Page 206 of this issue of *External Affairs*.



## *Belgium-Canada Agreement on Scientific, Industrial and Technological Co-operation*

THE universal impact of science and technology has added a new dimension to human experience. Today's man has witnessed in his own lifetime developments which have taken his contemporaries from the Model T to the moon. The immediacy and extent of their impact, and the velocity with which scientific and technological change occurs, demand that governments keep abreast in order to assess fully their social, political and economic implications and to make possible their most beneficial application.

Particularly since the end of the Second World War, the Government of Canada has been active in the promotion of both domestic and international science activity. Internationally, this is reflected through intergovernmental co-operation and membership in international agencies and organizations engaging



*The signing in Brussels of the Agreement on Co-operation in Science and Technology between Canada and Belgium. Seated left to right: Mr. Sharp; Mr. Théo Lefevre, Belgian Minister Responsible for Science; and Dr. Jacques Spacy, Secretary-General of the Belgian National Council for Science Policy.*



in scientific activities, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Atomic Energy Agency, the World Meteorological Organization and many others. Within the Department of External Affairs a division dealing with scientific relations and environmental problems has been established to co-ordinate and direct scientific activities of the Government abroad.

The scope of Canadian participation in intergovernmental scientific co-operation was widened recently by the conclusion of an agreement between Canada and Belgium governing co-operation in science, technology and industry. The agreement was signed on April 21, 1971, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Mitchell Sharp, and by Mr. Théo Lefèvre, Belgian Minister for Science Policy, and Mr. Pierre Harmel, Belgian Foreign Minister, during Mr. Sharp's visit to Europe with the Governor General and Mrs. Michener.

### **Co-operation Envisaged**

The agreement is general and provides a framework for co-operative activity to be pursued in the fields of pure and applied science and technology, and in industry. Co-operation will be undertaken by means of visits, exchanges, conferences and symposia, and joint ventures. A mixed commission will meet annually to review existing activity and to recommend programs. The agreement will remain in force for five years, to be renewed automatically for two-year periods unless rescinded by either party six months before the expiration of any such period.

The agreement results from the visit to Canada by Mr. Lefèvre in January 1970 and the visit to Belgium by a Canadian science and technology mission in June 1970, which identified areas suitable for co-operation between the two countries. During the visit of the mission a memorandum of understanding was signed affirming the interest of both countries in the conclusion of a science and technology agreement. The composition of the mission reflected the wide variety of interests involved in science and technology in Canada. Senior government officials, representatives from Ontario and Quebec, and senior businessmen from Canadian industry participated in the mission. Two representatives from the academic community interested in exchanges of students and professors also participated.

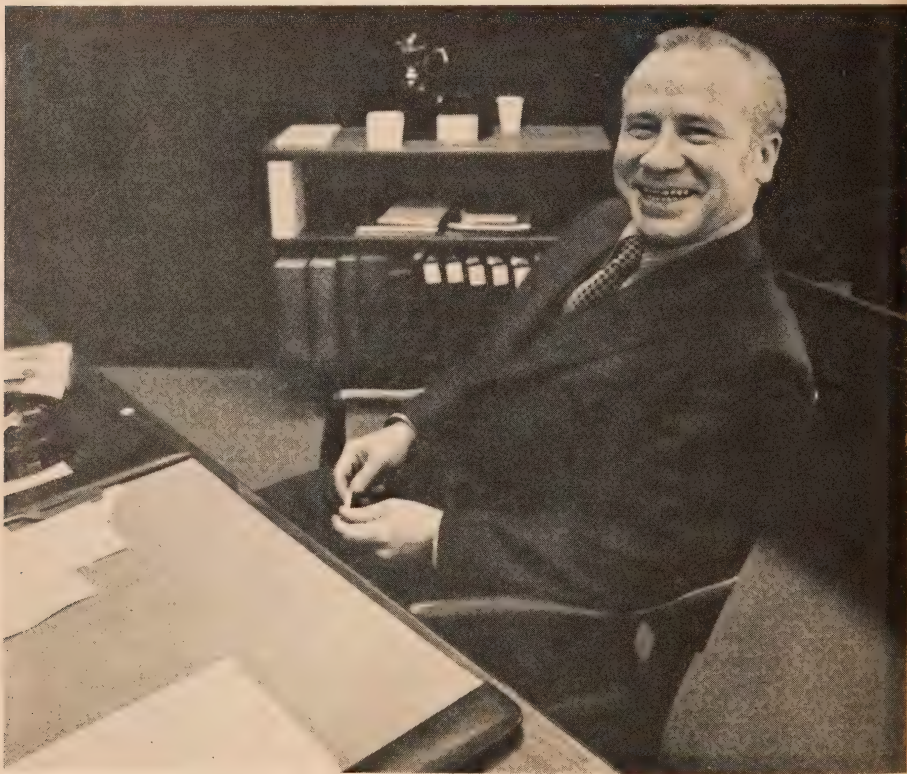
The agreement between Canada and Belgium is the first of its type. It illustrates the commitment of the Government to increased intergovernmental co-operation in science and technology, and the importance Canada attaches to co-operation with Belgium, a bilingual country with an active science community, a dynamic economy and rich and varied academic traditions. The programs envisaged under the agreement are broad enough to allow the scientific, industrial and academic communities to participate in co-operative activity.

## *The Work of the International Joint Commission*

In recent years the work of the International Joint Commission is acquiring a new importance because of the responsibilities it is assuming in environmental matters. Of particular note has been the Commission's Great Lakes pollution study, in regard to which it recently reported its findings and recommendations to the Canadian and United States Governments. This would perhaps be an appropriate occasion to look at how the Commission came into being and to note its major accomplishments.

A glance at the record of its chairmen and its past and present endeavours serves to trace the direction of the IJC's progress and development since its inception in 1911 and possibly indicates something of the scope of its future.

Indicative of the continuing emphasis and importance the Canadian Government places on the IJC is the recent appointment of the Honourable Louis J. Robichaud to the Chairmanship of the Canadian Section of the Commission.



*The Honourable Louis J. Robichaud, Chairman of the Canadian Section of the International Joint Commission.*



Mr. Robichaud is, of course, nationally known for his decade as Premier of the Province of New Brunswick. Mr. Robichaud brings to the Commission a legal background combined with the skills and experience of many years as an eminently successful political leader, qualities which will serve to add new strength to the Commission in tackling the increasing challenges that lie ahead. Similarly, the American Government's interest in the IJC is reflected in the current Chairman of the United States Section, Mr. Christian Herter Jr., who has served with distinction in a number of different capacities. Besides being Chairman, he is also Special Assistant to the Secretary of State of Environmental Affairs and Director of the Office of Environmental Affairs, Bureau of International Scientific and Technological Affairs. His father, the late Mr. Christian Herter, was Secretary of State during the Eisenhower Administration.

### **Distinguished Chairmen**

The importance the Canadian Government attaches to the IJC can also be seen in the list of distinguished chairmen it has appointed in recent times. A vigorous, nationally-known figure, the late General A. G. L. McNaughton, who had a long and distinguished career, was Chairman of the Canadian Section from 1950 to 1962. General McNaughton was succeeded by Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, one of Canada's most eminent diplomats, who served with distinction in this post, as he had in so many other high government offices, until his death in December 1970.

The origins of the International Joint Commission can be said to have dated from Canadian proposals to a series of international irrigation congresses held in the United States in 1894 and 1895. Those led to the establishment of an International Waterways Commission in 1905. The Canadian Government argued that the IWC should be able to look into and consider water-resource problems anywhere along the common border. The United States, on the other hand, was insistent that it be restricted to the Great Lakes system only. Led on its Canadian side by a far-sighted, hardworking Ontario lawyer, Mr. George C. Gibbons, the IWC dealt with a number of navigation and water-resource problems in the Great Lakes area. However, Mr. Gibbons pressed for a treaty that would broaden the scope of any international commission, outline principles and rules upon which disputes could be settled, and define the uses to which international waters could be put. This led to recognition being given to the need for an international body endowed with the authority and jurisdiction necessary to study and regulate the use of transboundary waters.

Gibbons had a long-term view of the role of the proposed international body. He envisaged its dealing perhaps in areas other than those of water resources: "it might be well to consider in the meantime whether the jurisdiction of a permanent Board if created might not well be extended to matters other than boundary waters". On the whole, in the early drafting stages of the treaty and in the later difficult final negotiations that led eventually to the permanent Com-



mission, the main driving force for a wider-ranging international body came through the efforts of Mr. Gibbons.

### **Boundary Waters Treaty**

Finally, in 1909, the Boundary Waters Treaty between Canada and the United States came into force. Its stated purpose was to prevent disputes regarding the use of boundary waters and to make provision for the adjustment and settlement of all problems arising between the two countries along their common frontier — including the rights, obligations and interests of either in relation to the other. The Treaty provided for the establishment of the International Joint Commission (set up in 1911) to settle such disputes, defined its jurisdiction and authority, and enunciated the principles by which it was to be governed. By 1912, the IJC had its full complement of Commissioners, three from Canada and three from the United States.

In its early years, the Commission was ably served by several chairmen. Mr. Th. Chase Casgrain was appointed its first Canadian Chairman, though he soon left to join Mr. Borden's Cabinet in 1914. He was succeeded by Charles A. Magrath, a civil engineer and former politician, who remained on the IJC until 1936. Mr. Magrath worked to establish and enhance the Commission's prestige as an international body during a long period of relative neglect by both governments. His successor in 1936, Charles Stewart, struggled, without much success, to have more problems submitted to the IJC. On the American side, the Commission was well served over the years by the chairmanship of a number of dedicated and knowledgeable men, many of whom, like the U.S. Section's first Chairman, James A. Tawney, and later O. Gardner, were former United States Senators.

### **Powers of IJC**

The Commission is composed of two sections, the Canadian Section with a chairman appointed by the three Canadian Commissioners and the U.S. Section with a U.S. chairman appointed by the three United States Commissioners. The powers of the Commission include:

- (1) Passing on any project under Articles III and IV of the Treaty involving any change in the natural level or flow of boundary waters or other waters crossing the boundary as more particularly defined in those articles.
- (2) An investigative and recommendatory role in relation to specific questions arising along the boundary under Article IX, referred to the Commission by the two governments.

The Commission does not have a large technical staff to carry out its functions. Instead it relies to an important extent on arrangements under which the two federal governments and the state and provincial governments concerned make available the services of engineers and other specially qualified employees

of the governmental agencies having an interest in the particular project. From the personnel so made available the Commission appoints one or more international advisory boards to conduct a study of the technical aspects of whatever question may be under consideration.

Once the international advisory board has submitted the results of its investigation to the Commission, the Commission conducts public hearings in the locality affected by the problem under study. Following conclusion of the public hearing, the Commission, in the case of an Article III or IV type project involving a change in the water levels, issues an order approving the change, subject to such conditions as it considers appropriate to ensure protection and indemnity of interests that might be injured. In such cases it also usually appoints an international board of control to ensure that the applicant complies with all the terms of the order of approval. In cases involving its investigative and recommendatory role under Article IX, the Commission submits its report to the two governments, together with its recommendations.

Where the Commission's findings involve making Article IX type recommendations to governments, these recommendations are not binding on the governments. However, they often serve to shape the ultimate settlement of the problem under consideration. Also, the ultimate settlement of the problem very often involves having the Commission maintain a surveillance function so as to enable governments to be informed as to how the terms of the settlement are being implemented.

### **Investigatory Role**

Certainly the investigatory function of the Commission is being relied upon more and more by governments because of the flexibility it provides. However, when acting in this role, the Commission must necessarily rely upon governments to implement its recommendations and upon the public to spur and encourage governments to do this. The Commission when acting in an investigatory capacity is not endowed with any specific powers of enforcement; rather, it is and was deliberately designed as a body that would have recourse to public opinion as an integral part of its operation. The significance of its appeal to the public is that this is, in fact, its real power.

The variety and scope of the cases which have come before the Commission since 1912 are almost as broad as the international boundary along which they have arisen. Matters referred by the governments for investigation and report have ranged all the way from the international tidal-power potential of Passamaquoddy Bay on the east coast to the water resources of the Columbia River in the west, and from preservation of the scenic splendour of the falls at Niagara to the emission of smoke by ships on the Detroit River. "Orders of approval" have been issued by the Commission relating to such diverse works as log-booms on the Rainy River and the works required for the development of hydro-electric power in the international section of the St. Lawrence River. This application was directly related to the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The main challenge facing the Commission at present concerns Canada-U.S. environmental problems. An important element in these problems relates to the arresting of the threat from the increasing air and water pollution that is occurring along the boundary. Actually, the only provision in the Treaty itself on pollution is contained in the last paragraph of Article IV, which provides that "boundary waters and waters flowing across the boundary shall not be polluted on either side to the injury of health or property on the other".

### **Fifty Years Experience**

Acting under its Article IX investigatory role, the IJC has had experience in pollution matters extending back over 50 years, dating from 1912, when the two federal governments sent the Commission a wide-ranging reference to examine and report "to what extent and by what causes and in what localities have the boundary waters . . . been polluted . . .". The Commission's given object was to find "in what way or manner . . . is it possible and advisable to remedy or prevent the pollution of these waters . . .". In this first instance, investigations covered a number of lakes and rivers located mainly, though not wholly, in the Great Lakes region, as well as portions of the Great Lakes themselves. This first reference was the result of the prevalence in the area of typhoid fever in 1912. In 1918, a report containing the findings of the Commission pointed out conditions as it found them in vigorous language: ". . . situation along the frontier which is generally chaotic, everywhere perilous and in some cases disgraceful". In addition, it presented recommendations for remedying and preventing pollution in the areas examined. Its first experience in this field, however, was an unsatisfactory one, for no action was taken upon the Commission's recommendations by either government. That neglect was mainly the result of the advent of chlorination of municipal water supplies, which eliminated the incidence of typhoid, and of the general belief that there was an inexhaustible supply of clean, fresh water. The Commission then tended, with one notable exception, to turn away from matters in the pollution field for quite a number of years. That exception was its examination in 1928, upon referral by the two federal governments, of the effect and extent of the smelter fumes at Trail, British Columbia, in the neighbouring State of Washington. The IJC recommended damages be paid and measures taken to reduce emission of fumes. When the two governments found that they were unable to reach a decision based on the IJC recommendations, an arbitral tribunal was set up jointly in 1935 and the case was finally decided on the basis of its decision.

### **Renewed Attention to Pollution**

It was not until 1946 that the Commission came back to the consideration of pollution matters, with a reference from the two governments to cover the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair and Detroit River pollution problems. That reference was further extended in 1948 to include the Niagara River. The Commis-



sion recommended "objectives" for maintaining the quality of the boundary waters concerned, which were approved by the two governments. The Commission set up advisory boards to maintain continuing control of these waters. From this study, the IJC moved to an important investigation in 1949 of air pollution in the Detroit-Windsor region, and from that time on has become increasingly involved in important pollution studies.

### **Major Pollution Assignment**

Perhaps the major assignment in pollution studies thus far has been the 1964 reference by the two federal governments requesting the IJC to investigate the state of pollution in Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and the international section of the St. Lawrence River and to recommend appropriate remedial measures. This study, which extended over the period between 1964 and 1970, is the most extensive pollution study undertaken to date anywhere in the world, and its findings will undoubtedly command world attention.

To conduct a general study of these problems the Commission appointed two advisory boards — the International Lake Erie Water Pollution Board and the International Lake Ontario-St. Lawrence River Water Pollution Board. These boards undertook extensive studies regarding the source, extent, effects, dispersal and assimilation of pollutants, appropriate parameters for water quality, the cycle of eutrophication and its effect on aquatic life and water quality, and more effective means of treating municipal wastes. After having submitted three interim reports to the governments, the Commission submitted its final report in January 1971. In this report the Commission indicated that the lower Great Lakes were being seriously polluted, mainly by municipal and industrial wastes, and the report provided the basis for concrete remedial action on the part of the federal, state and provincial governments concerned. This action included recommending that governments enter into an agreement for the carrying out of water-pollution abatement programs and of measures and schedules to achieve them. The report went on to recommend that the Commission be given the authority, responsibility and means for co-ordinating and ensuring the necessary surveillance and monitoring of water quality and of the effectiveness of pollution-abatement programs. It further recommended that the reference of October 1964 be extended to authorize it to investigate pollution in the remaining boundary waters in the Great Lakes system and waters flowing into it. This report has received enthusiastic support from the Governments of both Canada and the United States. In a statement made when it was tabled last January, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, said "the report provides guidelines that can be an inspiration to the peoples of Canada and the United States in the critical period ahead to deal with the Great Lakes pollution problem".

The report is now being studied by a Canada-U.S. working group comprising officials of the government agencies concerned in each country at the federal, state and provincial levels. This group will be reporting to a Canada-

United States ministerial meeting that is expected to be held shortly. Decisions taken at this meeting are expected to provide for concerted programs aimed at achieving acceptable water-quality objectives and the means to put programs into action to reach these objectives on the basis of the recommendations contained in the Commission's report.

A dramatic illustration is thus provided of the increasingly important role that the Commission is playing in dealing with Canada-U.S. boundary questions involving the environmental field.

Currently, the Commission is investigating the serious problem of trans-boundary air pollution in the Windsor-Detroit and Sarnia-Port Huron boundary areas under an Article IX investigatory reference. Earlier this year it held public hearings in connection with this investigation, and in due course it will be making its final report to governments. In addition, it is studying the environmental effects of increasing the height of the Ross Lake Dam in B.C.'s Skagit River Valley, and is holding public hearings on the subject in British Columbia early in June. This environmental study would appear to be a harbinger of the kind of study in which the IJC may become more and more involved in the future.

It is more than possible that the IJC will also be increasingly engaged in boundary questions having sociological, cultural and even political aspects. An indication of this is the fact that the IJC is conducting an Article IX type investigatory reference at the request of the two governments into the Point Robert question. This is a problem involving the situation of a small community cut off from the rest of Washington State by a boundary anomaly limiting its direct access to the United States to water access. The only access by land is across Canadian territory. This raises multitudes of political, legal and administrative problems, and the two governments have turned to the Commission for a solution.

The tremendous increase in growth taking place both in Canada and the United States over the next decade and all the problems which are likely to result from this growth will raise a great variety of new problems, as well as expand many existing ones. Present indications suggest that the two governments will be turning to the Commission for advice and assistance in meeting border problems arising from these changes. The wealth of experience by the Commission over the past 50 years in dealing with boundary questions makes it ideally qualified to discharge effectively the greatly enlarged responsibilities the two governments are in the process of assigning to it.

## *St. Lucia Airport Opened by Senator Martin*

THE Honourable Paul Martin, Leader of the Government in the Senate, represented the Government of Canada at the official opening of Hewanorra International Airport in St. Lucia, West Indies, on May 1. Accompanying him were Mr. George Kidd, Vice-President of the Canadian International Development Agency, and Mr. J. Whittleton of the Department of External Affairs.

The opening of the airport was the culmination of almost three years of planning and joint effort by St. Lucians and Canadians on a project that involved not only the reconstruction and resurfacing of an airport but the diversion of a river, the relocation of roads and the construction of a new bridge. Seroc Incorporated of Sherbrooke, Quebec, was the prime contractor on the project, which was financed by a \$2.5-million grant provided by the Canadian International Development Agency.

The construction of the airport is part of an airport improvement program in the Caribbean, implemented by CIDA, which was given approval by the then Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, in 1967. The St. Lucia airport will contribute substantially to the development of a tourist industry in the island; a large new international standard hotel has already been constructed near the airport to accommodate the expected influx of visitors.



*Senator Paul Martin is greeted at St. Lucia's Hewanorra International Airport by the officer in charge of the handing-over ceremony.*



The visit of Senator Martin was his second official visit to St. Lucia during the past year. He was also there on September 15, 1970, while on a special mission to the Commonwealth Caribbean.

The text follows of Senator Martin's address at the handing-over ceremony at Hewanorra Airport:

"... It gives me much pleasure to return once again to St. Lucia and to represent the Government of Canada at the official opening of Hewanorra International Airport.

"Canadians are very happy that they have been able to participate in the development of this airport. Our history of warm and close relations with the Commonwealth Caribbean is long-standing. By working together to produce the positive results we are witnessing today we shall, I feel sure, reinforce these bonds of friendship.

"The development of the Canadian Assistance Program in the Caribbean, is, I think, a good example of this friendship. As you are aware, the Canadian Government continues to be greatly interested in the development of the Commonwealth Caribbean and in the wellbeing of its people. Since the Ottawa Conference of 1966, Canadian development assistance funds for the region have augmented very appreciably and have reached a total of over \$100 million (Canadian) and the Caribbean has become a major focus for Canada's external assistance.

"The airfield we are opening today is a shining example of these resources combining with your own for the betterment of this area. This project not only reflects the continued economic development of the state of St. Lucia and its importance in this part of the world but will provide added facilities to enable more persons from other areas to visit you and to share the benefits of your island.

"I had the good fortune to spend some time on this island during September and at Christmastime last year. I became aware then of a dynamism and a sense of progress permeating this land of such natural beauty and grandeur. But most of all I experienced that genuine and warm feeling of friendship which is so prevalent in the Caribbean and whose promise was so graciously fulfilled by my host, the Honourable Premier Compton. And so it was doubly pleasing to receive his invitation to return in order to participate in this ceremony and to be with you, during St. Lucia's Development Day festivities.

"The opening of Hewanorra International Airport is the culmination of some three years of planning and co-operative endeavour between the Governments and peoples of St. Lucia and Canada. On behalf of the Canadian Government and the Canadian International Development Agency, which has been responsible for the Canadian side of the realization of this project, I should like to thank the Premier and the Government of St. Lucia for their co-operation in the success of this joint effort. We are pleased to have made a contribution. We are also conscious that its successful completion is in no small measure due to the interest St. Lucia is taking in its own development and the determination of its people to achieve their goals. I wish, therefore, on this occasion to recognize

the energy of St. Lucians that has done so much to bring the dream of a new airport to fruition.

"It is a source of satisfaction to me also that I was able to play a small role in this project when, in December 1967, as Minister for External Affairs, I approved an airport improvement program in the Carribean for implementation through the Canadian International Development Agency. Under that program, more than \$5 million was set aside for the extension, improvement and resurfacing of this airfield.

"I spoke earlier about my good fortune in being here, and of being able to experience again not only the warmth of the climate but, more important, the warmth of your friendship and hospitality. Now, when I look across this airfield I can almost picture those who, having heard of the beauty of St. Lucia, will be drawn in large numbers, as to a magnet, in order to enjoy all you have to offer. Already, in preparation for these visitors, a new hotel has been constructed nearby. And I am told that planning has been undertaken to ensure that tourism plays a balanced role in contributing to your economy.

"A tribute is also due to the forward thinking which the Government of St. Lucia has shown in its plans for the development of the Vieux Fort area. We have been appreciably involved with you in evolving a master plan for this project.

"I should not, however, like to leave you with the impression that Canada's interest lies solely in this particular area in St. Lucia. The Canadian International Development Agency has been involved in the water-distribution system in Castries, teachers and advisers are working throughout the island, primary schools have been built and work is progressing on the St. Lucia Composite School.

"It is our desire to promote further progress in the economic and social development of the Caribbean. If, in being privileged to assist you in the construction of a new airport, we are able to further that aim, we are indeed pleased. And I am even more pleased that I am able personally to hand over this airport to the Government of St. Lucia officially today."

## *Visit of General Nasution of Indonesia*

GENERAL Abdul Haris Nasution, the Chairman of the Indonesian People's Consultative Congress and one of Indonesia's best-known citizens, visited Canada in April as the guest of the Honourable Lucien Lamoureux, Speaker of the House of Commons. The ten-day visit, which began in Vancouver, took General Nasution and his wife to Victoria, Winnipeg, Niagara Falls, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal and Ottawa.

The program for the visit was arranged so that the General could see aspects of Canadian life that would have some parallel in Indonesia. Since he had been closely involved in the establishment of the "new order" in Indonesia after the fall of President Sukarno, the General was interested primarily in Canadian education, co-operatives, constitutional practices, and resource development. His party visited a pulp-and-paper mill at Port Alberni on Vancouver Island, the University of British Columbia, and marketing and housing co-operatives in Winnipeg, as well as the Wheat Board and the Grain Exchange in that city. In



*Prime Minister Trudeau greets General Nasution of Indonesia at a Parliamentary reception in Ottawa while the host, the Honourable Lucien Lamoureux, Speaker of the House of Commons, looks on.*



Kingston, General Nasution addressed the National Defence College and visited the Royal Military College. In Ottawa he was briefed on Armed Forces integration. He was received by the Lieutenant-Governors of British Columbia and Manitoba, the Premier of Manitoba, and Cabinet Ministers in both provinces.

Since Indonesia will be holding general elections this year for its central and regional parliaments (the second general election only in its 25-year history), General Nasution took particular note of Canadian electoral practices and spent a morning in Ottawa being briefed by Canada's Chief Electoral Officer, Mr. Jean-Marc Hamel. He was introduced to the House of Commons on April 27 by the Speaker, and had an opportunity to meet several Members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers to exchange views on means of approaching the complex social and economic problems facing modern governments and parliaments.

### **Rise to Prominence**

General Nasution rose to international prominence during the 1950s, when he was Indonesia's Army Chief of Staff and later Minister of Defence. He was known as one of the strongest anti-Communists in Indonesia and a fervent nationalist, who successfully suppressed the rebellions in Sumatra and Sulawesi. He was the only general marked for execution in the abortive coup of September 30, 1965; though he managed to escape himself, his young daughter was killed in the shooting. In 1966 he was appointed Chairman of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress, the body that exercises the sovereignty of the people of Indonesia and names the President, and in that position he played a leading role in the gradual transfer of presidential powers to General Soeharto.

In his talks with Canadian businessmen, Parliamentarians and government officials, General Nasution sought to explain Indonesia's current political and economic situation and his country's urgent requirements. He placed strong emphasis on the need for social change and development in conjunction with economic development. Progress in these areas might appear slow, the Indonesian visitor explained, but important successes, particularly in stabilizing the country's economic situation, had already been achieved. Indonesia required an expansion of trade and of foreign investment as well as continued economic aid, he pointed out.

Mrs. Nasution, who in her own right is very active in Indonesian social welfare and rehabilitation activities and is Chairman of the National Social Welfare Council in Indonesia, took advantage of the visit to view Canadian activities in this field. She made separate visits to schools for blind and deaf children, workshops of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind and the Centre for Crippled Children in Toronto, and had meetings and discussions with ministers and officials responsible for rehabilitation and social welfare programs at all levels of government.

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Compensation to Canadians Living Abroad**

*On May 26, the following questions were put to the Government:*

1. To the knowledge of the Government, during each of the past five years, how many Canadians were living abroad?
2. During the past five years, was the Government held responsible for damages sustained by its nationals living abroad and, if so:
  - (a) in how many cases;
  - (b) what was the total amount of such damages?
3. How many Canadian technical assistants are living abroad?
4. Has the Government compensated Canadians whose assets were nationalized by foreign governments and, if so, in what cases?
5. Does the Government provide for compensation to its nationals for damages sustained by them abroad and, if so, in what manner?

*In reply, Mr. J. A. Jerome, Parliamentary Secretary to the President of the Privy Council, made the following statement:*

I am informed by the Department of External Affairs and the Canadian International Development Agency as follows:

(1) This information is not available. There is no annual census or world-wide registration of Canadian citizens resident abroad. In many countries abroad Canadian citizens making a prolonged stay there are invited in their own interests to register with the appropriate diplomatic or consular post; they are, however, under no obligation to do so and experience has shown that many do not register. The total of those who have so registered as of March 1, 1971, is approximately 37,000. This figure does not include any Canadians who are resident in countries where registration records are not maintained, among which are the United States and the United Kingdom.

(2) To our knowledge, no.

(3) 1,096, CIDA; 1,157, CUSO.

(4) The Government does not of itself compensate Canadian citizens whose assets have been nationalized by foreign governments. The Government has, however, concluded claims agreement with foreign governments and has distributed the proceeds received among Canadian citizens whose property has been nationalized by those governments. Particulars of claims agreements concluded are set out hereunder: (a) On June 30, 1966, a claims agreement was signed with the People's Republic of Bulgaria under which the Canadian Government received a payment of \$40,000. The payment was in respect of property rights, interests and debts of the Canadian Government, Canadian citizens and Canadian juridical persons which had been affected directly or indirectly by Bulgarian measures of

nationalization, expropriation or other similar measures which had taken effect before the date of agreement. The proceeds of the settlement have been distributed by the appropriate ministers amongst claimants on the recommendation of an adviser on claims. (b) On June 1, 1970, a claims agreement was signed with the Hungarian People's Republic under which the Canadian Government will receive a payment of \$1.1 million in five annual equal installments, the first of which has been received. The payment was in respect to the property rights and interests including debts other than bonded debts of the Canadian Government and Canadian citizens affected directly or indirectly by Hungarian measures of nationalization, expropriation, state administration and other similar measures arising out of structural changes in the Hungarian economy and regulations made or administrative action taken thereunder which have taken effect before the date of the agreement. The settlement includes debts arising out of contracts of insurance concluded before December 21, 1941, shares in Hungarian banking companies affected by the Hungarian Law XXX of December 1, 1947, which were continuously owned by Canadian citizens, obligations arising out of Articles 24 and 26 of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary of February 10, 1947, and obligations arising out of Articles 231 and 232 of the Treaty of Trianon of June 4, 1920. A Chief Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner have been appointed, known by the title of the Foreign Claims Commission, for the purposes of adjudicating the claims and recommending to the appropriate ministers the distribution of the proceeds of the settlement amongst Canadian claimants.

(5) The Government does not provide compensation for damages sustained abroad by its nationals by reason of the wrongful acts of persons other than servants or agents of the Crown in the right of Canada.

### **Relief for East Pakistan Refugees in India**

*The following statement was made on May 28 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp:*

During the past several days a number of questions have been raised with regard to the nature of the Government's response to requests from the Government of India and the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) for assistance in providing relief for refugees from East Pakistan. The House will recall that on May 18 the Secretary-General of the United Nations issued an appeal calling for urgent humanitarian assistance to relieve the plight of these refugees and sought the co-operation of governments and private organizations in a co-ordinated effort through the United Nations to alleviate their suffering.

The Government accepts without hesitation that the financial burden of providing relief cannot be borne by India alone. To help meet the urgent human needs in West Bengal and other border states, the Government is providing \$2 million in relief supplies, including foodstuffs, medicines, medical supplies and cash contributions. This \$2 million is a supplementary contribution to the inter-



national emergency relief appropriation and will not affect the bilateral development assistance program for India.

It is most important that relief be provided in as effectively co-ordinated a manner as is possible. We are consulting closely with the United Nations in order to ensure that Canada's contribution will complement the contributions of other governmental and private donors who have indicated their willingness to contribute.

The longer-term needs arising out of the presence of the refugees in India are not yet known. This contribution is designed to help meet the immediate needs of the situation.

The Government shares with Members on both sides of the House, and Canadians generally, the urgent wish to help bring relief to the suffering in East Pakistan. Adequate funds, needed supplies, means of transportation and the right kind of experts are all available. We are continuing, through the World Bank and other international organizations, to seek a way to deal with the problem. Our High Commissioner in Islamabad is urging upon the Government of Pakistan the need to admit relief supplies under proper international supervision and control. I regret that I cannot at this time report any significant progress.

## CONFERENCES

- Plenipotentiary Conference on Definitive Arrangements for the International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium: Washington, April 14 - mid-May
- ECOSOC, fiftieth session: New York, April 26 - May 21
- Economic Commission for Latin America: Santiago, April 27 - May 7
- UNESCO Executive Board, eighty-seventh session: Paris, April 28 - May 14
- ITU Administrative Council: Geneva, May 1-21
- IADB Board of Governors: Washington, May 10-14
- WHO, World Health Assembly, twenty-fourth session: Geneva, May 4-21
- Special International Conference of UNIDO: Vienna, June 1-8
- International Narcotics Control Board: Geneva, May - June
- Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council: Lisbon, June 3-4
- ILO Conference: Geneva, June 2-24
- UNDP: Santiago, June 7-25
- UNDP: Governing Council: Geneva, June
- ITU World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications: Geneva, June 7 - July 16
- ICAO Assembly: Vienna, June 15 - July 8
- World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing: Vancouver, July 5-16
- International Federation for Information Processing, fifth congress: Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, August 23-28
- Fourth Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, September 6-16
- Commonwealth Finance Ministers Meeting: Nassau, September 23-24
- Fifteenth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency: Vienna, September 23-30
- Third Commonwealth Medical Conference: Port Louis, Mauritius, November 2-12

## **APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

- Mr. K. C. Brown, Canadian Ambassador to Cuba, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Haiti, March 4, 1971.
- Mr. H. E. Millerson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Stockholm, effective March 23, 1971.
- Mr. R. Lyman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, effective April 1, 1971.
- Mr. G. Lavertu posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective April 2, 1971.
- Miss L. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Commonwealth Secretariat, London, effective April 3, 1971.
- Mr. P. J. A. Hancock posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective April 14, 1971.
- Mr. E. P. Black, Minister at the Canadian Embassy, Paris, appointed Director General of the Bureau of European Affairs, effective April 15, 1971.
- Mr. J. J. Dupuis appointed Minister at the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective April 15, 1971.
- Miss J. Dove posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Budapest, effective April 15, 1971.
- Mr. M. J. Vechsler posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Capetown, effective April 17, 1971.
- Mr. A. R. Kroeger posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective April 27, 1971.
- Mr. A. D. Ross appointed Canadian Ambassador to Chile, effective April 28, 1971.
- Mr. J. G. Harris posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective April 28, 1971.
- Mr. M. H. Coleman posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to Ottawa, effective April 30, 1971.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *The Prime Minister's Visit to the Soviet Union*

WHEN Prime Minister Trudeau arrived in Moscow on May 17, 1971, he became the first Canadian head of government to make an official visit to the U.S.S.R. Within the next three days, he had a series of official talks with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Mr. A. N. Kosygin; the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Mr. N. V. Podgorny; and



*Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Kosygin chat before the opening of official talks in the Kremlin. Their interpreter (centre) is Mr. V. Sukhodryev.*

the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr. L. I. Brezhnev. After their stay in Moscow, Prime Minister Trudeau and Mrs. Trudeau visited six other cities, travelling from Kiev, capital of the Ukrainian S.S.R., to the desert heat of Central Asia and the frigid temperatures of the Arctic.

The Protocol on Consultations<sup>(1)</sup> signed by Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Kosygin on May 19 goes some way towards placing Canadian-Soviet intergovernmental con-

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<sup>(1)</sup> Appendix A

tacts on a more systematic and "structured" basis. The document is a logical development of the process of diversifying Canadian international relations and of Canada's growing interest in expanding its relations with the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, as outlined in *Foreign Policy for Canadians*. Canada had previously entered into similar arrangements with a number of countries such as the United States, Japan and Mexico, in addition to its traditional consultations within the Commonwealth.

In a press conference held in Moscow on May 20, Prime Minister Trudeau described the Protocol as "extremely important and significant". The document itself, he went on to say:

will only have the value which both parties want to give to it, but from both sides we did express very firmly our earnest intention of making sure it wouldn't be just a symbolic exchange but on the contrary that there would be real discussions of important issues, that there would be regular meetings. . . . We have of course had contacts with the Soviet Union at least since we opened our Embassy here in 1942, but nothing as systematic and regular as is foreseen in this document.

Canada looks forward, among other things, to substantial consultations with its Arctic neighbour as envisaged by the Protocol. It shares with the Soviet Union a number of geographical conditions and environmental problems. The U.S.S.R. is also a trading partner of immense potential; politically, regular exchanges of views with such an important and powerful country should enable Canada to contribute further to better East-West relations and to arrive at a better-informed judgment of world events.

In a speech to the House of Commons on his return from the U.S.S.R. on May 28, the Prime Minister cautioned:

I harbour no naive belief that as a result of this Protocol our two countries will find themselves suddenly in a relationship which will reflect nothing but sweetness and tender feelings. As I stated in my speech in the Kremlin, there remain many fundamental differences between us; differences relating to deep-seated concerns springing from historic, geographic, ideological, economic, social and military factors.

But surely . . . the only way to resolve these differences and eliminate these concerns is by increased contact and effort at understanding. That is what the Protocol proposes. That is what, in a different way, is achieved by prime ministerial visits.

### Official Talks

While the Prime Minister's talks with Soviet leaders were focused to a large extent on bilateral issues, there was also a broad review of major problems in foreign affairs such as European security, disarmament, the human environment, the Middle East situation and the war in Indochina. The joint communiqué<sup>(2)</sup> issued at the end of the visit accurately reflects the substance of these talks, so far as there was agreement between the two parties. During the talks, the Prime Minister repeatedly made it clear that he was speaking for Canada as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and an ally of the United States; the accepted positions set out in the communiqué are consistent with those of Canada's allies.



The opportunity was taken by the Prime Minister to urge Premier Kosygin to permit residents of the Soviet Union who so desired to be reunited with their families in Canada.

## APPENDIX A

### PROTOCOL ON CONSULTATIONS

*Inspired* by a desire to develop and strengthen relations of friendship, good neighbourliness and mutual confidence between the two countries,

*expressing* a desire for co-operation in the interests of maintaining international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and conscious of the responsibilities of Canada and the Soviet Union as members of the United Nations to promote the preservation of peace,

*believing* that Canada and the Soviet Union can contribute toward the above goals by acting in a spirit of co-operation, mutual respect and reciprocal benefit,

*endeavouring* to improve and further develop relations between the two countries by means of high-level contacts, expanding ties and exchanges in the fields of economy, trade, science, technology, culture and northern development,

*noting* with satisfaction the conclusion of the Canadian-Soviet agreement on co-operation in the industrial application of science and technology, and the development of trade on the basis of the 1956 agreement,

*conscious* of the responsibility of the two sides to preserve and protect the environment of the Arctic and the sub-Arctic areas,

*fully determined* to go on developing political and economic co-operation, the Prime Minister of Canada and the Soviet leaders have agreed on the following:

(1) Canada and the Soviet Union shall enlarge and deepen consultations on important international problems of mutual interest and on questions of bilateral relations by means of periodic meetings.

Such consultations will embrace:

questions of a political, economic and cultural nature, environmental questions and other subjects concerning relations between the two countries;

international questions, including situations causing tension in various parts of the world, with a view to promoting *détente*, furthering co-operation and strengthening security;

problems which are the subjects of multilateral talks, including those considered at the United Nations;

any other subjects in respect of which the Parties may find it useful to have an exchange of views.

(2) In the event of a situation arising which, in the opinion of the two Governments, endangers the maintenance of peace or involves a breach of the peace, the two Governments will make contact without delay in order to exchange views on what might be done to improve the situation.

(3) The provisions set forth in Paragraphs 1 and 2 above do not affect obligations previously assumed by the Parties in respect of third states and are not directed against any of them.

(4) The conduct of such consultations between Canada and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is designed not only to promote the welfare of their peoples and develop relations between them but also to contribute towards better relations among all countries.

(5) These consultations, at levels to be determined by mutual agreement, will have a regular character. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs or their representatives will meet whenever the need arises and, in principle, at least once a year. Either Party is free to recommend the holding of such consultations, including the time and level at which they should be held.

Moscow, May 19, 1971

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA,  
P. E. Trudeau

CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF  
MINISTERS OF THE UNION OF  
SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS,  
A. N. Kosygin

## APPENDIX B

### JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ON THE VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R. OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU.

At the invitation of the Soviet Government, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, and Mrs. Trudeau paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from May 17-28, 1971.

During their stay in the Soviet Union, Mr. Trudeau and his party held official discussions in Moscow and visited Kiev, Tashkent, Samarkand, Norilsk, Murmansk and Leningrad. They were thus able to acquaint themselves with the life and work of the Soviet people and many of the achievements of the U.S.S.R. in the economic, scientific and cultural fields.

The Prime Minister of Canada laid wreaths on the tombs of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow and Kiev and at the Peskaryovskoye Memorial Cemetery in Leningrad.

The distinguished guest from Canada and his party were everywhere accorded a hearty welcome testifying to the friendly feelings of the Soviet people towards the Canadian people.

Prime Minister Trudeau had a talk with the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev. He also had a talk with the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., N. V. Podgorny. Conversations were held between Mr. Trudeau and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., A. N. Kosygin.

Taking part in the discussions were:

*On the Canadian side:* Ambassador of Canada to the U.S.S.R. R. A. D. Ford, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister B. J. Danson, Dr. Stanley Haidasz, M.P., Walter Deakon, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs A. E. Ritchie, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister Marc Lalonde, Deputy Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce J. H. Warren, Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet M. A. Crowe, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister Ivan Head, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs J. G. H. Halstead, Press Secretary to the Prime Minister P. M. Roberts and other officials.

*On the Soviet side:* Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. N. K. Baibakov, V. A. Kirillin, V. N. Novikov; U.S.S.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs A. A. Gromyko, U.S.S.R. Minister of Foreign Trade, N. S. Patolichev, Deputy Minister

of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. S. P. Kosyrev, U.S.S.R. Ambassador to Canada B. P. Miroshnichenko and also Heads of Departments of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs E. N. Makeev, O. N. Khlestov, Y. N. Cherniakov and other officials.

The discussions were held in an atmosphere of frankness and cordiality and provided the opportunity for a useful exchange of views on the present state and future prospects of Canadian-Soviet relations as well as on major international problems of common interest. The Canadian side outlined the basic aims of Canadian foreign policy, while the Soviet side outlined the decisions of the twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU on questions of foreign policy. They agreed that all countries, regardless of their social systems, should seek to develop relations based on reciprocity and mutual confidence and should resolve any problems by negotiations.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the general trend towards improvement of Canadian-Soviet relations. They are convinced that the further development of good-neighbourly relations corresponds to the national interests of the people of Canada and the Soviet Union and promotes the relaxation of international tension and the safeguarding of universal peace. With this in mind the Prime Minister of Canada and the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers signed a protocol designed to enlarge and deepen consultations on important international problems of mutual interest and on questions of bilateral relations by means of periodic meetings.

The two sides emphasized the importance of contacts at all levels and expressed their mutual desire to develop exchanges of visits of government and political leaders, representatives of commerce, science and technology, culture, non-governmental organizations and tourists.

The two sides reviewed the present state and future prospects of economic, scientific and technological co-operation between the two countries. The two governments agreed that there are favourable opportunities for increasing and diversifying trade in both directions to mutual advantage. They noted that Canadian-Soviet trade over the years has been fruitful and that the deliveries of Canadian wheat play an important part in this trade. They instructed the appropriate agencies to work out proposals on ways of further developing trade relations between the two countries. It was agreed that negotiations for the renewal of the current trade agreement should begin in November or December this year in Moscow.

They also agreed to instruct the appropriate agencies to study the possibilities of further expanding co-operation in the field of air transport.

It was noted that the expansion of mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological relations has been promoted by the Agreement between the Governments of Canada and the U.S.S.R. on Co-operation in the Industrial Application of Science and Technology, signed on January 27, 1971. The two sides agreed to render all possible assistance in the active implementation of the programs undertaken within the framework of the Mixed Canadian-Soviet Commission on Co-operation set up pursuant to that Agreement.

The Soviet side proposed that consideration should be given to the conclusion of a treaty covering economic development, technological and industrial co-operation. The Canadian side agreed to study the proposal.

Taking into account the fact that the Arctic regions, distinguished by their particularly severe climatic and ice conditions, are of great importance to both Canada and the Soviet Union, the two sides discussed the possibilities of promoting co-operation in developing the northern territories and agreed to expand the exchange of experience in this field between Canada and the U.S.S.R. Both sides shared the view that they have special responsibilities and corresponding rights with respect to ensuring the safety of navigation and preserving the natural balance in the Arctic regions.



The Governments of Canada and the Soviet Union noted the importance of developing as far as possible international co-operation for the solution of the problem of the human environment. The United Nations Conference on Human Environment Problems planned for 1972 should be a significant step in this direction.

The Governments of Canada and the Soviet Union expressed their desire to expand exchanges between the two countries in as many areas as possible, on the basis of reciprocity and mutual advantage. For this purpose they confirmed their intention to negotiate a general agreement on exchanges to develop further contacts in the fields of culture, education, and science.

During the exchange of views on major international problems, the Governments of Canada and the Soviet Union confirmed their desire to continue efforts to strengthen universal peace and reduce international tension. They expressed their firm conviction that all questions at issue between states should be solved by peaceful means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The discussions revealed that Canada and the U.S.S.R. hold similar views on a number of international problems.

The two governments attach great importance to strengthening security and promoting multilateral co-operation in Europe. They emphasized the need for effective measures to further reduce tension, and for the normalization and improvement of relations among all European states on the basis of the principles of independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, renunciation of the use of force or the threat of force, non-interference in internal affairs and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

Canada and the U.S.S.R. believe that *détente* and stability in Europe would be promoted by the convening of a properly prepared conference on European security and co-operation with the participation of all European states, Canada and the United States. They consider it useful to continue consultations with each other on this question.

The two sides expressed their conviction that the strengthening of international security and the safeguarding of universal peace are important objectives to be pursued, in particular through appropriate measures of disarmament.

Both sides support the reduction of armed forces and armaments in areas where the military confrontation is particularly dangerous, and especially in Central Europe. They discussed the recent proposals made by the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, before the twenty-fourth CPSU Congress and in Tbilisi for various measures of disarmament as well as the Canadian suggestion placed before the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament regarding underground nuclear testing. The Prime Minister of Canada outlined also the considerations in favour of a mutual and balanced reduction of forces. He welcomed the recent initiative of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries for a convention prohibiting biological weapons and both parties expressed the hope that a convention could be concluded this year. The two sides expressed their satisfaction at the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean-Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof.

The two sides expressed serious concern over the tense situation in the Middle East. They emphasized the need for efforts by all the states concerned with a view to achieving a just and lasting peace settlement in the area on the basis of the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967. For this purpose the Governments of Canada and the Soviet Union expressed themselves

in favour of the continuation of the mission of Ambassador Jarring, the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in the Middle East.

Views were exchanged on developments in Indochina which are causing anxiety. Hopes were expressed on both sides that a viable peace would be re-established in Indochina.

Canada and the Soviet Union attach great importance to the United Nations. The two sides confirmed their determination to seek to strengthen the organization and to enhance its effectiveness in maintaining universal peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction with the exchange of views that took place and emphasized the usefulness of maintaining regular personal contacts between the leading statesmen of the two countries.

Prime Minister Trudeau expressed gratitude and satisfaction for the warm hospitality he enjoyed in the U.S.S.R. and extended an invitation to Chairman Kosygin to visit Canada at a mutually convenient time. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

# *Canadian Contact with Hanoi, 1964-65*

*The following statement was made to the House of Commons on June 17, 1971, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp:*

The attention of the House has been drawn to the publication this week by the *New York Times* of a series of documents describing the involvement of the United States in Indochina up to 1968. In these documents are several references dealing with the activities of an officer in the Department of External Affairs serving on the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam in 1964-65. I should like to give the House the facts about his activities, which he carried out on instructions from the Canadian Government.

On June 10, 1965, my predecessor, the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, in a statement before the Standing Committee on External Affairs, said:

"I informed the House on Monday that our role in Viet-Nam has not been upine and that we have attempted to use the channels available to us by virtue of our Commission membership to establish contact with North Viet-Nam. Our Commissioner in Saigon, over the past eight months, prior to May 31, made several trips to the capital of North Viet-Nam, Hanoi.

"During these visits he has had discussion with the local leaders and officials in an attempt to assess the North Viet-Nam Government's position. I asked him to go to Hanoi on May 31 and to see someone senior in the Government of Viet-Nam, the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister, and this he did.

"This is the most recent contact that he has made and, although his report is not an encouraging one, I want to say that we have not abandoned the probing process. Mr. Seaborn, who is our Commissioner, is an officer of considerable experience and ability. He is well qualified for an important assignment of this delicate nature. He had an interview with the Foreign Minister on May 31 in which he expressed Canada's concern, and our willingness to play a helpful role possible.

"He sought clarification of the North Viet-Nam Government's position, including its reaction to the recent pause in the bombings. Naturally I cannot go into any greater detail about it at this time; but I would like to say that the Foreign Minister stated repeatedly that the four conditions which had previously been outlined by the Prime Minister of North Viet-Nam on April 8, taken as a whole, represented the Hanoi Government's approach to a settlement."

## **Nature of Mission**

I should now like to give a full account of the nature of our Commissioner's mission to Hanoi during the time he was in Viet-Nam in 1964-65. In the spring of 1964, following a meeting between the U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and



the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, the Canadian Government agreed that the new Canadian Commissioner on the ICC in Viet-Nam might be instructed to probe what was in the minds of the leaders in Hanoi and help to dispel any misunderstanding they might have as to the future course the United States intended to follow — that is, that the Americans were not thinking of pulling out of Viet-Nam and were prepared to increase their commitment there if this were considered necessary.

Canada's motive in agreeing to this special mission for the Canadian Commissioner was to try to promote a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Viet-Nam. Thus the Canadian Government considered it entirely consistent with, and indeed reinforcing, our role in the ICC. I should like to emphasize that the Commissioner acted at no time as a direct representative of the United States Government or President but only as a part of a Canadian channel of communication. It was clearly understood, of course, that messages to be conveyed in this way would be passed *via* Ottawa, that Canada did not associate itself with the content of the messages and that Canada would be free to add its own comments to any message passed in either direction. Our only commitment was that there would be faithful transmission of messages in both directions. The Canadian Government's purpose in agreeing to participate in this channel of communication was to provide an opportunity to reduce misunderstandings between the United States and North Viet-Nam, and was founded on a strong desire to ensure the return of peace to Viet-Nam and to Southeast Asia. This position was understood by both the Americans and the North Vietnamese throughout.

### **First Visit**

In the course of his tour of duty in Viet-Nam, Mr. J. Blair Seaborn, who was the Canadian Commissioner at the time, made six visits to Hanoi. Not all of these were occasioned solely by his special mission. Canadian members of the ICC maintain contact on a regular basis with the authorities of both South and North Viet-Nam. On his first two visits to Hanoi the Commissioner was received by the North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong on June 18 and August 12, 1964. During his first interview with the North Vietnamese leader Mr. Seaborn explained his mission and the Canadian Government's purpose, which was to establish the Canadian Commissioner's credentials with the North Vietnamese as an authoritative channel of communication with the United States. At the same time, he conveyed the first of a series of messages from the United States Government. Mr. Seaborn reported to the North Vietnamese that United States policy was to see to it that North Viet-Nam contained itself and its ambitions within the territory allocated to its administration by the 1954 Geneva Agreements. He added that United States policy in South Viet-Nam was to preserve the integrity of that state's territory against guerilla subversion. He stated that the United States had indicated that it was not seeking military bases in the area and was not

seeking to overthrow the Communist régime in Hanoi. The Commissioner informed the North Vietnamese Prime Minister that the United States considered itself fully aware of the degree to which Hanoi controlled and directed the guerilla action in South Viet-Nam and that the United States held Hanoi directly responsible for that action. He also made it clear that the United States considered the confrontation with North Vietnamese subversive guerilla action as part of a general confrontation with this type of violent subversion in other less-developed countries. Therefore, the United States regarded its stake in resisting a North Vietnamese victory in South Vietnam as having a significance of worldwide proportions. The Commissioner mentioned examples of United States policy of peaceful coexistence having benefited Communist regimes, such as Yugoslavia and Poland. The Commissioner also reported that American public and official patience with North Vietnamese aggression was growing extremely thin and he feared that, if the conflict in the area should escalate, which he did not think was in anyone's interest, then the greatest devastation would result for the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam itself. Mr. Seaborn reported that he was convinced that Pham Van Dong understood the importance and the context of the message he conveyed, and the seriousness with which the United States viewed the situation in Southeast Asia. To that extent it was judged that the initial purpose of this first contact had been successfully accomplished.

### **Second Visit**

The second visit, despite its timing, was not occasioned by the incidents of August 2 and 4 in the Gulf of Tonkin and the air-strikes against North Vietnamese territory on August 5. These occurred after Mr. Seaborn had arranged to travel to Hanoi on August 10 on Commission business. On August 8, the Canadian Government agreed to relay to Mr. Seaborn a further message from the United States Government repeating many of the points made in the previous message and making it clear that "if the DRVN persists in its present course it can expect to suffer the consequences". This message was based on the talking-points which were published in the *New York Times* on June 13, 1971. This message was transmitted to Pham Van Dong on August 13, 1964. Despite its severity, the Canadian Government believed that, because of its importance and in the interests of peace, it should be transmitted faithfully in accordance with our undertaking to the United States. According to our Commissioner's report, the North Vietnamese Premier was clearly angered by it and said that if war came to North Viet-Nam it would come to the whole of Indochina. Nevertheless, he said he wanted the Canadian channel kept open. Neither the United States nor North Viet-Nam, however, took any initiative to make use of it in the following weeks.

### **Third Visit**

The Commissioner's third trip to Hanoi on regular Commission business was planned for November 1964, but we were asked by the United States Government

to delay it to permit the preparation of a further message to the North Vietnamese. This message, which was relayed to Saigon on December 3, had nothing to add to the earlier messages beyond the statement that "the time is ripe for any message Hanoi may wish to convey", and the Commissioner was instructed by the Canadian Government to deliver passively so passive a message. It was conveyed, therefore, to the head of the North Vietnamese liaison mission for the ICC. This was the only North Vietnamese official whom Mr. Seaborn saw during this third visit from December 10 to 18, 1964. There was no response to the American invitation for communication from the North Vietnamese and in January 1965 the State Department told us that it was unlikely that the United States would have anything to communicate to Hanoi "in the near future".

#### **Fourth Visit**

American air-attacks on North Viet-Nam began in February 1965 following a major Communist assault on American facilities at Pleiku, and on February 27 Mr. Seaborn was instructed by the Canadian Government to go to Hanoi to discuss a new message with the North Vietnamese Prime Minister. He went on March 1 but Pham Van Dong would not receive him and the Commissioner saw Colonel Ha Van Lau, the head of the liaison mission, on March 4. At that time the Commissioner conveyed to him the substance of a general statement of United States policy and objectives which was also being made available to the North Vietnamese Government through the United States Embassy in Warsaw. Mr. Seaborn concluded following this meeting that the North Vietnamese were unlikely to use the Canadian channel of communication with the United States.

#### **Fifth Visit**

On May 28, 1965, following the suspension of bombing from May 12 to 17, the United States asked if the Canadian Government would instruct Mr. Seaborn to pass a further message to North Viet-Nam saying that "the United States continues to consider the possibility of working toward a solution by reciprocal action on each side", and seeking clarification of whether American recognition of North Viet-Nam's "Four Points" of April 8 was regarded by Hanoi as a pre-condition to any discussions. Mr. Seaborn went to Hanoi for the first time on May 31 and saw both Ha Van Lau and North Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh. He reported his impression that the North Vietnamese were not interested in talking to the United States at that time. The fact that Mr. Seaborn had seen the North Vietnamese Foreign Minister was reported to the House by my predecessor, the Honourable Paul Martin, on June 7, 1965.

#### **Final Visit**

Mr. Seaborn visited Hanoi for the last time from September 30 to October 4, 1965. We had told the United States Government in advance that we had serious doubts about the usefulness of giving him special instructions, and on this occasion he



carried no message. His only official contact this time was at a low level in the North Vietnamese liaison mission and he detected no sign of interest in discussions or negotiations. Shortly thereafter Mr. Seaborn returned to Canada at the conclusion of his normal posting in Viet-Nam.

It has been suggested that the Canadian Government knew, or should have known, that some of the messages it conveyed amounted to statement of an American intention to bomb North Viet-Nam. The Canadian Government knew of no such intention on the part of the United States. The messages we carried were couched in general terms and related to the possible consequences for the North Vietnamese Government of continued activities in South Viet-Nam.

It has been implied that the Canadian Government should not have carried any such messages on behalf of the United States. It was the view of the Government of that time that this was entirely consistent with its role as a member of the ICC, and indeed that it was implicit in the role that Canada should endeavour to promote a dialogue between the main parties to the conflict. The North Vietnamese made it abundantly clear to Mr. Seaborn that they did not regard our activity as in any way improper or inconsistent with our ICC role.

It has also been implied that, when the bombing of North Viet-Nam began, the Canadian Government should have made some public protest on the basis of what it is now claimed that it knew about American intentions. The Canadian Government had no information that would have justified such a protest at that time. Canada, along with many others, accepted the United States Government's version of the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

We were not allied to the United States in its operations in Indochina and were not fully informed by the United States on its various plans and intentions. Throughout, the record is clear that the Government of that day acted in good faith and in a manner consistent with our responsibilities to the International Control Commission.

# North Atlantic Treaty Organization

FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING — SPRING 1971

*The spring semi-annual ministerial session of the North Atlantic Council was held in Lisbon on June 3 and 4. The major subjects discussed by the NATO foreign ministers were a possible conference on security and co-operation in Europe, and the alliance's proposals for mutual and balanced force reductions.<sup>(1)</sup> The following is the full text of the final communiqué issued at the close of the meeting:*

The North Atlantic Council met in ministerial session in Lisbon on June 3 and 4, 1971.

2. The continuing political aim of the Atlantic alliance is to seek peace through initiatives designed to relax tensions and to establish a just and durable peaceful order in Europe, accompanied by effective security guarantees. The alliance remains indispensable to peace and stability in Europe and to the security of all its members.
3. Ministers reviewed the international situation, concentrating their attention on Europe and the Mediterranean.
4. They assessed the state of progress of the several initiatives which allied countries had undertaken within the framework of the established policy of the alliance to intensify contacts, explorations and negotiations with members of the Warsaw Pact and other European states. The purpose of all these initiatives is to seek just solutions to the fundamental problems of European security and thus to achieve a genuine improvement of East-West relations. They noted with satisfaction the results obtained and expressed the hope that the continuation of these efforts would lead to further progress helping the development of *détente*. The Allies have consulted and will continue to consult closely on these diplomatic activities.
5. Ministers welcomed the continued negotiations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. with the aim of placing limitations on offensive and defensive strategic arms. They noted the useful discussions held in the North Atlantic Council on this subject. Ministers also welcomed the agreement between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. announced on May 20, regarding the framework for further negotiations, and expressed the sincere hope that it would facilitate discussions leading to the early achievement of concrete results enhancing the common security interests of the North Atlantic alliance and stability in the world.
6. In reviewing the Berlin question, ministers underlined the necessity of alleviating the causes of insecurity in and around the city. During the past quarter

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<sup>(1)</sup> An assessment of the meeting from a Canadian point of view is given on Page 276 of this issue as part of a statement to the House of Commons on June 14 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

of a century, much of the tension which has characterized East-West relations in Europe has stemmed from the situation in and around Berlin. Thus, the ministers would regard the successful outcome of the Berlin talks as an encouraging indication of the willingness of the Soviet Union to join in the efforts of the alliance to achieve a meaningful and lasting improvement of East-West relations in Europe.

7. Ministers therefore reaffirmed their full support for the efforts of the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States to reach an agreement on Berlin. They shared the view of the three governments that the aim of the negotiations should be to achieve specific improvements based on firm commitments without prejudice to the status of Berlin. In this context, they emphasized the importance of reaching agreement on unhindered movement of persons and goods between the Federal Republic of Germany and Western sectors of Berlin, on improved opportunities for movement by residents of the Western sectors, and on respect for the relationship between the Western sectors and the Federal Republic as it has developed with the approval of the three governments.

8. Ministers were of the view that progress in the talks between German authorities on a *modus vivendi*, taking into account the special situation in Germany,



*In attendance at the NATO ministerial meeting (left to right): Mr. Gappelen, Norway; Sir Alex Douglas-Home, Britain; Mr. Jonsson, Iceland; Mr. Olçay, Turkey; Mr. Harmel, Belgium; Secretary-General Brosio; Mr. Patricio, Portugal; Mr. Luns, the Netherlands; Mr. Hartling, Denmark. In the background, toward the right: Mr. Schumann, France; Mr. Thorn, Luxembourg; Mr. Sharp, Canada; Mr. Rogers, United States of America; Mr. Morro, Italy; Mr. Palamas, Greece.*



would be an important contribution to a relaxation of tension in Europe.

9. Ministers, having reviewed the prospects for the establishment of multilateral contacts relating to the essential problems of security and co-operation in Europe, again emphasized the importance they attach to the successful conclusion of the negotiations on Berlin. They noted with satisfaction that these negotiations have entered into a more active phase and have enabled progress to be registered in recent weeks. They hope that before their next meeting the negotiations on Berlin will have reached a successful conclusion and that multilateral conversations intended to lead to a conference on security and co-operation in Europe may then be undertaken. In this spirit they invited the Council in permanent session to continue, in the framework of its normal consultations on the international situation, its periodic review of the results achieved in all contacts and talks relative to security and co-operation in Europe so that it could without delay take a position on the opening of multilateral talks.

10. In anticipation of these multilateral contacts, the Council in permanent session actively pursued preparations for discussions on the substance and procedures of possible East-West negotiations, and submitted a report to this effect to ministers. The report stressed that the successful outcome of such negotiations would have to be founded on universal respect for the principles governing relations between states as cited by ministers in previous communiqués and declarations. The various prospects for developing co-operation between East and West in the economic, technical, scientific, cultural and environmental fields were closely examined. The report also reviewed in detail the essential elements on which agreement would be desirable in order to promote the freer movement of people, ideas and information so necessary to the development of international co-operation in all fields.

11. Ministers noted these studies and instructed the Council in permanent session to continue them pending the initiation of multilateral contacts between East and West. Ministers stressed that they would press on with their bilateral exploratory conversations with all interested states.

12. Ministers took note of the report on the situation in the Mediterranean prepared by the Council in permanent session. While welcoming the efforts currently undertaken to re-establish peace in the Eastern Mediterranean, they observed that developments in the area as a whole continue to give cause for concern. In the light of the conclusions of this report, they instructed the Council in permanent session to continue consultations on this situation and to report thereon at their next meeting.

13. The allied governments, which issued the declarations at Reykjavik in 1968 and Rome in 1970 and which subscribed to Paragraphs 15 and 16 of the Brussels Communiqué of 1970, have consistently urged the Soviet Union and other European countries to discuss mutual and balanced force reductions. They reaffirmed that the reduction of the military confrontation in Europe — at which MBFR is aiming — is essential for increased security and stability.

14. Against this background, ministers representing these governments welcomed the response of Soviet leaders indicating possible readiness to consider reductions of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. These Soviet reactions, which require further clarification, are, together with those states, receiving the closest attention of the alliance.

15. In an effort to determine whether common ground exists on which to base negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions, these ministers expressed the agreement of their governments to continue and intensify explorations with the Soviet Union and also with other interested governments on the basis of the considerations outlined in Paragraph 3 of the Rome Declaration<sup>(1)</sup>. They expressed their intention to move as soon as may be practical to negotiations. To this end these ministers agreed that deputy foreign ministers or high officials should meet at Brussels at an early date to review the results of the exploratory contacts and to consult on substantive and procedural approaches to mutual and balanced force reductions.

16. These ministers further announced their willingness to appoint, at the appropriate time, a representative or representatives, who would be responsible to the Council for conducting further exploratory talks with the Soviet Government and the other interested governments and eventually to work out the time, place, arrangements and agenda for negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions.

17. Reviewing other developments in the field of arms control and disarmament, these ministers noted as a significant step forward the conclusion of a treaty banning the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the seabed and ocean floor. Allied ministers noted with satisfaction the work done by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament with a view to reaching an agreement eliminating bacteriological weapons and toxins. They reaffirmed the importance they attach to effective and adequately verified arms limitation and disarmament measures consistent with the security of all states and invited the Council in permanent session to continue to pursue the alliance efforts and studies in all fields related to arms control and disarmament.

18. Ministers expressed satisfaction at the impressive progress achieved by the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society as reported by the Secretary-General. They noted particularly the important contribution made by the allies to combat the pollution of the seas by oil and to the development of road safety. They welcomed the fact that intensive work was under way on problems relating to coastal and inland water pollution and disaster assistance. They further welcomed the contribution the Committee had made to alerting governments and public opinion to the problems of modern technology, as well as to the dangers to modern society arising from the deterioration of the environment. They observed that many countries of the alliance have equipped themselves with new government structures to cope with such problems. Ministers took special note

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<sup>(1)</sup> See Appendix, Page 242.

of the fact that the benefits of allied efforts had not been confined to the countries of the alliance but were being felt in other countries as well as in broader-based international organizations.

19. Ministers expressed their regret at the impending departure of Mr. Manlio Brosio, who had informed them of his intention to resign as Secretary-General of the Organization. In their tributes to Mr. Brosio, ministers dwelt on his outstanding stewardship in often difficult circumstances and stressed the patience and perseverance which have marked his untiring work for both defence and *détente*. They expressed to him their deep appreciation for the distinguished service he has rendered to the alliance and to peace in the past seven years.

20. The Council invited Mr. Joseph Luns, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, to become Secretary-General of the Organization as from October 1, 1971. Mr. Luns informed the Council of his acceptance of this invitation.

21. The next ministerial session of the North Atlantic Council will be held in Brussels in December 1971.

22. Ministers requested the Foreign Minister of Italy, as President of Council, to transmit this communiqué on their behalf through diplomatic channels to all other interested parties, including neutral and non-aligned governments.

### Appendix

Paragraph 3 of the Rome Declaration reads as follows:

"3. Ministers invite interested states to hold exploratory talks on mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe, with special reference to the Central region. They agree that in such talks the Allies would put forward the following considerations:

- (a) Mutual force reductions should be compatible with the vital security interests of the alliance and should not operate to the military disadvantage of either side having regard for the differences arising from geographical and other considerations.
- (b) Reductions should be on a basis of reciprocity, and phased and balanced as to their scope and timing.
- (c) Reductions should include stationed and indigenous forces and their weapons systems in the area concerned.
- (d) There must be adequate verification and controls to ensure the observance of agreements on mutual and balanced force reductions."



# *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development*

MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING 1971

THE tenth annual OECD Ministerial Council meeting, held in Paris on June 7 and 8, focused largely on three issues: the current economic situation, involving the problems of persistent inflation and monetary uncertainty; the perspectives for international trade, including the fluid state of the trading environment; and co-operation with developing countries. Consideration was also given to certain other matters, including questions of the environment. On June 7, Australia joined the Organization as the twenty-third member.

The Canadian delegation was led by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and included Mr. Bruce Howard, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce. The meeting was chaired by Mr. William Rogers, the United States Secretary of State.

## **Summary**

On economic and monetary questions, the ministers reaffirmed their intention to give priority to a substantial reduction in the rate of inflation and called for



Taking part in a session of the tenth annual meeting of OECD ministers in Paris (left to right): Mr. Bruce Howard, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce; the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mr. J. R. McKinney, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Canada to the OECD.

closer international co-operation within the OECD to combat the problem. They expressed the view that member countries, in working out strategies for this purpose, should adopt a combination of policies that would take into account not only their own situations but the interests of other countries. Ministers also welcomed the resolve expressed by member countries to make further progress towards a better balance on the current and long-term capital account and instructed the OECD to give special attention to factors leading to undesirably large short-term capital flows.

As regards trade, the ministers expressed the resolve of their governments to maintain the high degree of liberalization of international trade that had been achieved through continuous multilateral co-operation and through negotiations in the previous 25 years. The ministers agreed that broader opportunities for progress towards the general aim of trade liberalization should be explored, and to this end decided to set up, within the OECD, a small high-level group whose members would be chosen for their wide competence and experience from among senior officials or other personalities designated by governments. The group is intended to define problems in trade and related matters, assess their relative urgency, consider how they might be dealt with and set out options for their solution.

Regarding developing countries, the ministers expressed the determination of their governments to pursue policies that would combine domestic, economic and social objectives with objectives of development co-operation. Concerning the environment, they noted with satisfaction the new direction given to work within the OECD on environment policies, which aims at taking into consideration a wide range of relevant factors, especially those affecting international economic relations, and at proposing constructive solutions to the most urgent problems facing member countries.

### **Economic Policies and Prospects in the OECD Area**

In discussing the prospects for economic activity and prices, the ministers indicated that the growth of output in the OECD as a whole was likely to pick up in the course of 1971. On the other hand, it appeared that price rises might not yet be slowing down sufficiently to enable the growth objectives of the OECD for the 1970s to be achieved in a non-inflationary climate, which was considered essential to its economic and social aims. The ministers reaffirmed the high priority attached by their governments to reducing substantially the rate of inflation and drew attention to the need to eliminate excessive demand where it still existed. They noted that, in designing stabilization policies, it would be necessary to pay close attention both to their effect on unemployment and to the social repercussions of rising prices. They also noted, with appreciation, the work of the OECD of the dynamics of inflation helps governments to formulate their stabilization to demand management, there were many fields in which national policies should be applied to the task of damping down inflation. Further analysis within



the OECD of the dynamics of inflation helps governments to formulate their stabilization policies better. Speaking on the problem of inflation, Mr. Sharp noted the vigorous application in Canada of most measures of the type that the OECD had been recommending. The results indicated a considerable measure of success, with the consumer price index figures for the latest 12 months showing only a 1.8 percent rise. Canadian policy was also alert to the possible resurgence of inflation and the Government was not convinced that the inflationary psychology had been "broken" in Canada. Mr. Sharp noted that, too often, the problem for economic management was posed as inflation *versus* unemployment. In his view this was not a choice. Canada did not think it was possible to buy employment with inflation, but this was not clear to the public and presented a political problem with which the OECD, as a non-partisan body, could help by articulating the case against inflation. Even in the absence of strong anti-inflationary steps by governments, unemployment would have risen because of structural factors, the rapid growth of the labour force, and problems of mobility. Mr. Sharp indicated that the Canadian Government expected a downturn in unemployment in response to expansionary measures and that the GNP (gross national product) was expected to grow by 5 per cent this year, as opposed to 3.3 per cent last year.

On fiscal and monetary problems, the ministers discussed the underlying trends in the balance of payments and also recent developments in the international monetary situation. They recognized that the balances of some countries on the current and long-term capital accounts still diverged from what was considered appropriate over the longer run. The main point made by the U.S. delegation in discussing their balance-of-payments situation was that it was the result of their international responsibilities in defence and other fields. This, therefore, was a "special burden" and should be recognized as such. The U.S.A. urged that it was a common interest of its OECD partners to help achieve a stronger balance-of-payments position, which the U.S. needed as the keeper of a reserve currency. The United States looked to trade liberalization in other countries and to a more effective concerting of national economic policies as means to this end. The European members of the OECD, on the other hand, argued that there were direct links among massive liquidity of U.S. origin in Europe, persistent inflation and repeated monetary crises, and that the economic policy options of European countries were constricted by this situation.

In the end, the ministers instructed the OECD to give special attention to factors leading to undesirably large short-term capital flows and they agreed that solutions to these fiscal and monetary problems would require more effective international co-operative action concerning economic policies in general. In this area the OECD had an important role to play.

### **Perspectives for International Trade**

Perhaps the most significant item for Canada discussed by the Ministerial Council, that of future prospects for trade liberalization, resulted in the establishment of



a small high-level group to look at the longer-term trade perspectives. The ministers, in effect, recognized that the preoccupation of the European Economic Community, Britain and others with their enlargement negotiations, and the current strong protectionist tendencies in some countries like the U.S.A., made it impractical to think of a broad new multilateral negotiation just now. However, the ministers noted, progress had been made in a number of current OECD activities in the field of trade liberalization, and they lent their support to efforts toward the general aim of freer trade on a non-discriminatory basis under fair conditions of competition for both industrial and agricultural products. They confirmed that their governments would pursue policies aimed at greater liberalization of international trade and noted the changing nature of trade and related problems and the particular responsibilities OECD member countries would continue to carry in world economic affairs. Recognition of these factors led to the establishment of the small high-level group mentioned above. The ministers stressed that the studies undertaken by this group should take into account the work being done in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) by virtue of that Organization's responsibilities and prerogatives under the General Agreement.

In addressing himself to this item on the agenda, Mr. Sharp said: Through multilateral co-operation, the nations of the world have been able to develop a high degree of co-operation in the trade field. Appropriately, the GATT has been in the forefront of this process but the Secretary-General's document rightly reminds us that the OECD has made a special and valuable contribution on such questions as export credits and in working out the generalized preference system. We hope that activity of this kind in the OECD will be continued and intensified, just as we hope and expect that the GATT work program will also be expedited as much as possible. We in Canada export about 50 per cent of what we produce; the percentage of our gross national product represented by exports is one of the highest in the Organization. That is why we say that what can be done now should be done now, and why we attach importance to the ongoing work here and in the GATT.

But it is very apparent... that there is at the present time a certain underlying malaise — a certain stalemate — in the postwar progress toward freeing our mutual trade. There are times — and I suggest that this is one of them — when, as a group of industrialized countries, we must have resort to all means at our disposal to break this static situation. OECD traditions and mechanisms are suited to doing just this, and it is in this spirit that Canada welcomes the Secretary-General's proposals in this document.

Canada supports the setting-up of a high-level group in the OECD to analyze trade problems, and to suggest possible methods for dealing with them. Our support is predicated on our view that the Secretary-General's proposal is essentially about trade liberalization. To be effective, such a group must have in it representatives of the interests of all the major trading nations. It is also important that the work of the group complement the work that now needs to be done in the GATT on techniques to be employed in eventual negotiations.

### **Co-operation with Developing Countries**

The ministers considered that the work of the OECD on a coherent approach to development co-operation would strengthen the efforts of member countries to attain the goals and objectives of the international development strategy for Development Decade II. They noted that, while the provisional figures of net

financial flows for members of the Development Assistance Committee to developing countries in 1970 showed some increase over the previous year, these flows, expressed as a percentage of GNP, remained about the same as in 1969. Within the total, official development assistance hardly changed between 1969 and 1970 in absolute value and, as a percentage of GNP, continued to decline. The trend, however, varied from country to country and figures of several DAC (Development Assistance Committee) members showed substantial progress. In this situation, the ministers agreed that member countries should pursue efforts to increase the volume of financial resources transferred to developing countries. They emphasized that aid policies should be aimed at increasing the volume and improving the quality of assistance.

Among the means of improving the quality of aid, the ministers noted that substantial progress had been made in drawing-up a draft agreement on aid "untying", and they agreed that this work should be actively pursued in the Development Assistance Committee while at the same time expressing the hope that co-ordinated action with respect to untying could take place at an early date.

In speaking to this point, Mr. Bruce Howard said:

As I have stated, Canada attaches importance to the quality of aid. We have recognized that untying is one aspect of quality and have unilaterally implemented a number of measures in this direction. In so doing we have accepted two of the principles reflected in the DAC draft agreement:

- (a) We are increasing assistance to multilateral agencies because these provide an organizational framework with established procedures to administer untied funds on a fair and equitable basis.
- (b) We are making more free foreign exchange available to developing countries through local cost financing and other techniques, thus enabling them to make additional procurement within established trading patterns including other recipient countries.

Under this item, the ministers also noted the progress made towards the introduction, in the near future, of a generalized system of tariff preferences (GPS) in favour of developing countries. They urged that every effort be made to ensure that the GPS was brought into effect as soon as possible in 1971. They agreed that the OECD should pursue its work with a view to enabling developing countries, to draw full advantage from the preference system and also instructed the OECD to examine other means which might help to improve export earnings by developing countries, particularly for goods which in general were not directly affected by the introduction of the GPS.

On the subject of the GPS, Mr. Howard stated:

Before concluding, may I refer briefly to the sub-item on preferences. In the Canadian offer of tariff preferences for developing countries, we stated our intention to act in concert with other major preference-giving countries, and to harmonize the implementation of our offer with the implementation of those of our major trading partners. This continues to be our intention, and we hope to introduce legislation in Parliament in the not-too-distant future.

Finally, the ministers resolved to use the OECD to consult more closely on their short-term and medium-term economic policies, so as to ensure that the policies of each country would be more compatible with the responsibilities of OECD countries to developing countries as set forth in the OECD Convention.



*On her arrival at the airport in Ottawa, Her Imperial Majesty Farah Pahlavi Shahbanou of Iran accepts flowers from the eight-year-old daughter of the Secretary to the Governor General, Mr. Esmond Butler, while Governor-General and Mrs. Michener look on. The Empress paid a five-day visit to Canada in June, during which she officiated at ceremonies in honour of her country's twenty-five hundredth birthday at the Man and His World exhibition in Montreal.*



## *CIDA President Tours Asian Nations*

HELP from Canada is "very much appreciated" by the developing countries of Asia, Mr. Paul Gérin-Lajoie told newsmen in Montreal on April 30 as he returned from a comprehensive tour of the Colombo Plan region. Mr. Gérin-Lajoie, President of the Canadian International Development Agency since last November, reported that "the people of those countries recognize it as the most politically disinterested aid" and that he had been "very strongly impressed" by the efforts of Canadians working in Asia on CIDA projects and with religious and other voluntary agencies.

However, new directions in thinking on international development call for a new emphasis on social development, and Mr. Gérin-Lajoie pointed out that, in the past, CIDA had "backed projects that contribute the most to raising the gross national product of the recipient nation". "That is no longer enough," he said. "We must concentrate our efforts on projects that deal with social problems and those that contribute the most jobs".



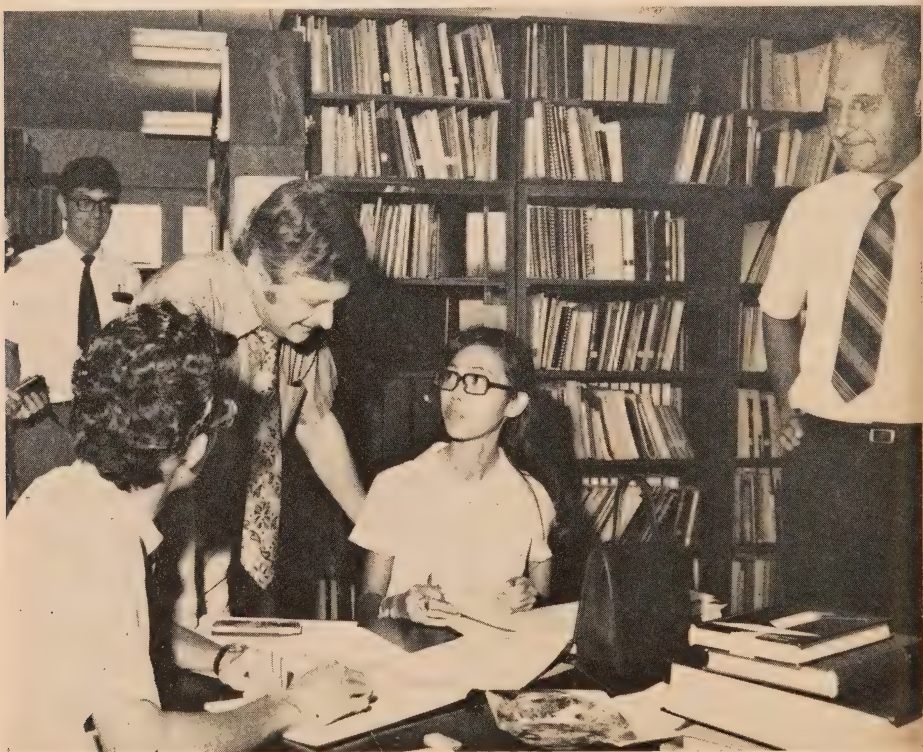
*The President of the Canadian International Development Agency, Mr. Paul Gérin-Lajoie, signs two development loans to India. Left to right: Mr. James George, Canadian High Commissioner in India; Mr. Gérin-Lajoie; Dr. I. G. Patel, Secretary in the Department of Economic Affairs, Government of India.*

Rural and village-based projects in agriculture were suggested by CIDA's President as offering a potential answer to the massive problems of urbanization in such countries as India. Education programs, he emphasized, must be carefully adapted to the economic and social needs of the people if they were to be of real value to the developing countries.

"Around the world in 30 days" describes Mr. Gérin-Lajoie's first major tour since he took up responsibility for Canada's official program of assistance to the developing countries.

Accompanied by Mrs. Gérin-Lajoie, by his special adviser Mr. André Mailhot, and by Mr. R. W. McLaren, Director of the Asia Division of CIDA's Operations Branch, Mr. Gérin-Lajoie proceeded west at the end of March to Kuala Lumpur *via* Hong Kong, and spent three days in Malaysia, a week in India, four days in Thailand, and three each in Singapore and South Viet-Nam.

Over the past 20 years most Canadian assistance has been directed to this part of the world, and CIDA's President gained firsthand knowledge by visiting a score of projects that were being carried out with help from Canada. The two most important agreements signed by Mr. Gérin-Lajoie — the \$40-million fertilizer and industrial-commodity loan and the \$15-million gas-and-oil exploration



*The Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, Thailand, was visited by the President of CIDA, Mr. Paul Gérin-Lajoie, during his recent visit to Southeast Asia. Mr. Gérin-Lajoie is shown (second from the left) chatting with librarians on the staff of the Institute as the President of the Institute, Dr. Milton E. Bender Jr. looks on (extreme right).*



loan for India — reflect the progress made toward industrialization and agricultural self-sufficiency by the largest single recipient of Canadian development assistance.

While visiting India, Mr. Gérin-Lajoie made a special trip to observe a dramatic manifestation of the urban crisis in the developing countries — the city of Calcutta, where metropolitan population has climbed to 8.5 million (more than half being refugees or recent migrants), where the population is concentrated 80,000 to the square mile in some areas, and where 50,000 people sleep on the sidewalks because of overcrowding. With Indian and Ford Foundation officials, Mr. Gérin-Lajoie studied local conditions and the long-range plans that might lead to real improvements in Calcutta if sufficient resources could be mobilized.

Another purpose of Mr. Gérin-Lajoie's trip was to attend two important international gatherings — a Singapore meeting of the Asian Development Bank, of which Canada is a charter member and Mr. Gérin-Lajoie is an Alternate Governor, and a three-day conference in Lausanne of the heads of national and international agencies for international development.

The importance of the co-ordination and integration of development efforts, and the urgent need to pay close attention to their social effects, were two themes stressed by Mr. Gérin-Lajoie as he looked back on his first overseas tour as President of CIDA — a trip that enabled him to discuss Canadian programs with officials of many developing countries and confirmed Canada's interest (shown by last year's foreign policy review and Prime Minister Trudeau's January visit to Colombo Plan countries) in its role as one of the "Pacific Rim" countries. In the future, Mr. Gérin-Lajoie expects to visit other developing regions where the CIDA is active — Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa — and to travel across Canada, meeting people from the many voluntary agencies working toward international development.



# *Canada and the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation*

SINCE, for more than a decade, Canada had been actively and increasingly involved in bilateral aid programs with French-speaking countries, it viewed with favour the proposal to set up an organization for multilateral co-operation among nations that were wholly or partially French-speaking. The project referred to came to fruition in Niamey, Niger, on March 20, 1970, with the formation of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation. By formally becoming a member of the Agency, Canada has once more clearly demonstrated its desire to play a full part in forging new links and strengthening old links of mutual co-operation within this world-wide community of French-speaking nations.

This summer Canada is giving concrete expression to its involvement by, among other things, playing a leading part in two programs launched by the Agency: a travelling international handicraft exhibition, which will be in Canada from early July to early October, and a youth-exchange program among member states that will get under way this August.

## **What is the Agency?**

Having set itself the task of achieving genuine multilateral co-operation in the spheres of education, culture, science and technology, the Agency groups together 14 African countries and Madagascar, four European countries, two American countries and one Asian country — 22 in all — for which the common use of French is a basis of closer relations and co-operation.

Its activities, as defined in its articles, encompass two interrelated aspects: preparing multilateral technical co-operation programs that are both separate from and complementary to those already in progress, and helping member nations to develop and popularize their respective cultures.

The Agency believes that any close, effective and lasting co-operation must be based above all on mutual understanding among the peoples concerned, and on an awareness of each other's needs. Consequently, it seemed a matter of primary importance to the Agency to encourage the spread, in each of the member countries, of enlightened public attitudes towards the cultures of the peoples represented. The two activities planned for this summer clearly illustrate this concern.

## **Summer Activities 1971**

The first activity is the travelling international handicraft exhibition. This display gives an excellent insight into the richness and diversity of the great civilizations it represents; it is made up of some 30 handcrafted works from each member country, representative of the spirit and traditions of their peoples. Thus



*View of the travelling international handicraft exhibition in Tunis.*

some 600 exhibits have been gathered together under the title "Unity in Diversity". For the most part, they represent familiar objects from everyday life in the areas of dress, interior decoration or the domestic arts. At the same time, there will be an exhibition of French-language African books, comprising more than 300 titles. The display is certain, therefore, to be of interest to Canadians, who will be able to see it in the following cities: Moncton (July 10-18), Quebec (July 24—August 1), Montreal (August 7-15), Ottawa (August 20-28), Toronto (September 2-9) and Winnipeg (September 26—October 4).

Canada is represented in the exhibition mainly by the Provinces of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba, which agreed to provide examples of their own handicrafts. Moreover, each province will be responsible for the technical organization of the exhibition in its own cities.

The second project in which Canada has been invited to take part is an exchange program involving young people from all the member countries. Within the context of this project, a group of 90 Canadians and Europeans will spend a month in Africa, while 94 young Africans, Madagascans, Mauritians, Haitians and Vietnamese will stay for an equal period and under similar arrangements in Europe or Canada.

The number of participants from Canada has been set at 30, and they will be divided mainly among Senegal, Mali and Ivory Coast, although Canada will also be represented in Upper Volta, Togo, Dahomey, Niger, Cameroun and Gabon. Thirty-two candidates from overseas will come to stay in Canada.

The governments of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba are co-operating closely on all aspects of the project. After selecting the Canadian candidates, each of the provincial governments, in conjunction with the Federal Government, set about drawing up a program for the young people to whom they will be hosts. While 20 young people from Quebec, five from Ontario, three from New Brunswick and two from Manitoba go to Africa from August 1 to 28, 32 young Africans will embark on an itinerary taking them first to Ottawa, where they will be briefed on Canadian conditions, politics and way of life, and then to Quebec. The visitors will then split into three groups to visit Ontario, Manitoba and New Brunswick, after which they will meet again in Montreal for an evaluation session before leaving for Paris. Among the many activities included in the program will be meetings with young Canadians of varied backgrounds, seminars on Canada's social, economic and political institutions, visits to industrial concerns, community centres, historical sites, and numerous cultural activities.



## *Visit to Canada by Prime Minister of Senegal*

AT THE invitation of the Canadian Government, the Prime Minister of Senegal, His Excellency Abdou Diouf, visited Canada from May 27 to 29, 1971. This was Mr. Diouf's first official visit abroad as Prime Minister since he took office in February 1970, and Canada appreciates the honour.

The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Senegalese Minister of International Co-operation, Mr. Emile Badiane, the Secretary of State for Planning, Mr. Ousmane Seck, the Delegate General for Tourism, Mr. Sidi Diakhité, and a group of senior officials. The Senegalese Ambassador to Canada, His Excellency Cheikh Ibrahima Fall, and the Honorary Consul General of Senegal in Montreal, Mr. Youssoupha Diallo, were also included in the delegation.

During his visit to Ottawa, the Senegalese Prime Minister was received by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Acting Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, and had talks with the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and Mr. Paul Gérin-Lajoie, President of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Mr. Diouf and Mr. Sharp congratulated each other, during their meeting, on the excellent relations existing between their two countries and on the new ties that had developed as a result of their membership in the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation, in the establishment of which the President of Senegal, His Excellency Léopold Senghor, was so prominent early in the last decade. Mr. Diouf summarized the spirit in which he undertook this visit when he said:

Our presence . . . goes beyond the limits of the ordinary courtesy visits of traditional diplomacy. It is more than symbolic; it is representative both of the past and of the present. In the past, there have been historical and cultural ties between our two countries. At present we share aspirations on the international scale, and, more concretely, we share the desire to work together to establish bilateral co-operation based on friendship between our two peoples.

Canada shared his feelings, as an excerpt from Mr. Sharp's address testifies:

Your visit, Mr. Prime Minister, marks a new stage in the relations between Canada and Senegal. Since the Chevrier Mission in 1968, which you helped to make successful, our program of co-operation has expanded to a degree that delights us. We know how interested you yourself are in this development. Our present task is to prepare the future of our program of co-operation, and no one is better qualified than you to tell us in what direction Senegal would like to move and in what way Canada could participate.

The main subjects discussed at the meeting between Mr. Diouf and Mr. Pepin were the investment possibilities for Canadian industry in Senegal, and the expansion of trade between the two countries.

The chief purpose of Mr. Diouf's visit was discussion of co-operation between the two countries. Accordingly, he had several meetings with the President of CIDA. At their working sessions, the Prime Minister and Mr. Gérin-Lajoie



*Senegal's Prime Minister Abdou Diouf is greeted by Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Mitchell Sharp.*

studied a number of aspects of Canadian assistance to the economic and social development of Senegal, reviewed the existing programs of co-operation between the two countries, and examined future projects in agriculture, fisheries, forestry and tourism.

The Prime Minister of Senegal emphasized the high priority his Government attached to the development of irrigation systems in agriculture; in recognition of that priority, CIDA agreed to provide assistance in the area in question. CIDA

gave a favourable reception to the presentation of various proposals, and recognized the priorities indicated by the Prime Minister of Senegal. The proposals will be studied by the CIDA staff, and the Agency will shortly be sending a team of experts to Senegal to make a more accurate assessment of the projects in question, giving priority to irrigation and fisheries development.

Mr. Gérin-Lajoie announced a general decision by the Canadian Government to grant a loan on favourable terms to finance a project involving cold-storage facilities for perishable foodstuffs. The project, known as "Chaîne du Froid" (Cold Chain), had been identified as early as 1968, when the Chevrier Mission visited Dakar. The Canadian firm, Cogetec, carried out this study and submitted recommendations for the renovation of refrigeration facilities in Dakar, Rufisque, Kaolack and Saint-Louis, and the supply of refrigeration equipment for the storage of meat, fish and vegetables. It was agreed that the possibility of a second stage in the execution of this program would be considered at a later date.

The Prime Minister and the President of CIDA agreed that technical co-operation between the two countries should be stepped-up by sending two Canadian technical advisers to Senegal, one to be assigned to the State Planning Secretariat and the other to the Ministry of International Co-operation.

The President of CIDA informed the Senegalese delegation of his desire to see Canadian aid geared more to the needs of regional communities, without in any way losing sight of national development objectives. The Prime Minister expressed interest in this approach, which recognized the importance of mobilizing the basic elements of the national development plan.

The Canadian authorities felt that the visit of Prime Minister Diouf had been especially timely and fruitful in that it had provided an opportunity to consider new approaches to co-operation between the two countries.



## *Canada's Relations with the Republic of Korea*

KOREA has a recorded history of 2,000 years and enjoys a distinctive cultural tradition. Bordered on the north by Manchuria, on the east by the Sea of Japan, and on the west by the Yellow Sea, the country has an area of 85,000 square miles. Canadians were among the first Westerners to enter the Korean peninsula in the nineteenth century, but Canada's first official involvement took place in 1947-8, when it served as a member of the United Nations Temporary Mission on Korea. The Commission was set up to supervise elections throughout the country in order to establish an independent government after 35 years of Japanese rule. In 1948 the Republic of Korea was established in the southern half of the peninsula. Canada supported the resolution of the United Nations which, in effect, constituted recognition of the Republic. The authorities in the North (the zone then occupied by the Soviet Union) denied the competency of the United Nations and established a separate regime.

When the Korean War broke out in 1950, Canada was one of the 16 nations to send troops to assist South Korea. The Canadian contingent, the fourth largest,



*The Canadian Ambassador to Korea, Mr. Herbert O. Moran, exchanges notes with Korea's Foreign Minister Choi Kyu-Hah during a ceremony marking the signing of the Canada-Korea Technical Assistance Agreement.*



*The Speaker of the Korean National Assembly, Mr. Hyo Sang Rhee (right) is greeted in the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa by the Leader of the Government in the Senate, Senator Paul Martin.*

comprised over 22,000 troops and suffered over 1,500 casualties. Canada has since played an active role at the Geneva Conference of 1954 and elsewhere in the search for peaceful reunification of the peninsula. In January 1963, Canada and the Republic of Korea established formal diplomatic relations and a non-resident Korean Ambassador was accredited to Canada. In November 1964, Mr. Richard P. Bower became Canada's first non-resident Ambassador to Seoul. He was succeeded in July 1966 by Mr. Herbert O. Moran. A Korean Embassy was established in Ottawa in December 1964, and the first resident Ambassador arrived in August 1965. The present Korean Ambassador in Ottawa is Pil Shik Chin, a former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

### **Trade and Aid**

Until recently, trade between Korea and Canada was small, but since 1965 it has expanded rapidly (from \$1.5 million in 1966 to \$33 million in 1970). Canada's most important exports to Korea are sulphur, asbestos, potash and electronic equipment, while the leading Korean exports to Canada consist of textiles and footwear. In 1966 the Canada-Korea Trade Agreement was signed, by which the countries exchanged most-favoured-nation treatment.

The Republic of Korea is a member of the Colombo Plan and since 1962 Canada has made available to it technical assistance primarily for the training in Canada of Korean students. In 1967 a \$1-million development loan was made to the Korean Government for the purchase of Canadian dairy cattle and equipment. On April 2, 1971, an agreement was reached between Canada and the Republic of Korea on technical assistance under which a small number of Canadian advisers will travel to Korea to work on a number of projects. A large percentage of Canadian aid funds are now being funnelled through multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. These organizations are, of course, very active in Korea.

### **Visit of ROK Speaker**

From March 15 to 21 of this year, the Honourable Hyo Sang Rhee, Speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea, paid a visit to Canada as the guest of the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Commons. Mr. Rhee expressed the hope that his visit would lead to a series of parliamentary exchanges between Canada and Korea. During his visit, the Speaker was received on behalf of the Government of Canada by Senator Paul Martin, Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs. At a lunch in honour of the Speaker, Senator Martin paid tribute to the close relations between the two countries and praised the progress of the Republic of Korea in recent years.

On July 1, 1971, Senator Martin led a special mission to Korea to attend the inauguration of President Chung Hee Park, who had recently won reelection to a third four-year term.



# *Fifth Commonwealth Education Conference*

CANBERRA, 1971

CANADA has played an important role, both as a leader in discussion and as a donor of funds and scholarships, at the five Commonwealth education conferences that have taken place since 1959, when the first such meeting was held in Oxford (others have been held in New Delhi in 1962, Ottawa in 1964 and Lagos in 1968). As a reflection of its substantial interest in Commonwealth educational co-operation, the Canadian Government sent a strong delegation, led by Dr. A. D. Dunton, President of Carleton University, to the most recent conference in this series, which was held in Canberra from February 3 to 17 this year to discuss the theme "matching needs to resources". Dr. T. C. Byrne, Deputy Minister of Education for Alberta, and Dr. Michel Plourde, Dean of Educational Sciences at the University of Montreal, were the vice-chairmen of the delegation, which also included: Mr. L. H. Bergstrom, Deputy Minister of Education for Saskatchewan; Dr. J. R. McCarthy, Deputy Minister of Education for Ontario; Mr. J. H. Dinsmore, Associate Deputy Minister of Education for Quebec; Mr. Réal Charbonneau of the Montreal Catholic School Commission; Mr. Joseph Chiasson of the Nova Scotia Department of Education; Dr. G. F. Curtis, Dean of Law at the University of British Columbia and Chairman of the Canadian Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Committee; Mr. Peter P. Fieger, President of the Canadian Teachers' Federation; Monseigneur Jacques Garneau, Deputy Director of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada; and Dr. F. K. Stewart, Executive Secretary of the Canadian Education Association. The Canadian International Development Agency, the Department of Manpower and Immigration and the Department of External Affairs were also represented.

In general, the Canadian delegates were of the opinion that, although no major new decisions were taken, the Conference made possible an evaluation of on-going programs of Commonwealth educational co-operation and served to increase understanding about education needs within the Commonwealth. At the same time it provided a forum for the healthy exchange of ideas about main trends in education.

There was evidence of a considerable evolution from earlier conferences in that the Canberra meeting steered away from generalities and focused on particular kinds of education co-operation that had become specially pertinent. For example, in primary and secondary education it was plain that there was a growing need in developing countries for more highly-qualified teachers, particularly in science and mathematics, and also for assistance with teacher training. At the same time, many delegates from the developing world emphasized their desire for a continued flow of CUSO (Canadian University Service Overseas)

volunteers, whom they found to be particularly well-qualified young people, willing to serve under difficult conditions.

It was pointed out that, in tertiary education, while a number of universities in developing countries had evolved to a position where they had considerable capacity for graduate studies and research, they still needed further assistance in these areas. There was much insistence on the obligation of such universities to serve the particular needs of their societies. This led the Canadian delegation to suggest that the Commonwealth Secretariat organize a conference of specialists concerned with university research and teaching on development problems.

### **Areas of Interest to Canada**

The report submitted by the Canadian delegation to the Secretary of State for External Affairs singled out a number of particular areas in which the Canberra conference made significant progress in areas of interest to Canada. Fundamental to the successful work of the conference was a basic assumption among the 28 participating Commonwealth members that, in spite of political difficulties of the type encountered at the Singapore prime ministers' meeting, the Commonwealth had an important international role to play and should continue to exist. A good example of the kind of role it could play effectively is the newly-established Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, which was discussed at length by the conference with a view to examining the wide range of possibilities opened up in the educational field by the creation of this new multilateral Fund, of which Canada is providing 40 per cent. The Fund is designed to make it increasingly possible for developing countries to help each other both through the provision of experts and the offer of training places in universities, technical institutes and other institutions, without limitations arising from foreign-exchange problems.

Discussion in each of the seven working groups of the conference made it clear that the developing countries were no longer uncritically seeking unlimited assistance from every possible source. A growing tendency was apparent to assess their needs realistically, admitting past failures and attempting to ensure that any assistance received in the future was appropriate to particular needs and could be used effectively.

One of the main themes that emerged at Canberra was that it had become necessary to re-examine the traditional notions and methods of development. In this connection, particular attention was given to the special role of universities in developing countries as research centres as well as "staff colleges" for development.

Canada was influential in establishing guidelines for a Commonwealth-wide ten-year review of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, under which Canada now makes 300 grants available annually to students from other Commonwealth countries. The conference received favourably a Canadian suggestion that it would be well to consider making similar evaluations of other programs of educational co-operation.

Other significant steps taken at Canberra included the elaboration of proposals for a Commonwealth Youth Program and the decision to hold conferences on this subject at the official and ministerial levels. Proposals were also adopted establishing a Commonwealth Book Development Program, and new orientations were proposed in agricultural education and training.

In summing up the fifth Commonwealth education conference, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Arnold Smith, himself a Canadian, said the conference had demonstrated "the positive benefits which may be achieved by the frank exchange of experience and opinion on the part of those directly engaged in one of the most important undertakings of their respective countries". "The conference would have served little purpose had it sought merely to record past achievements and disappointments," he added. He believed that its value lay in using experience in order to point the way forward, and that this objective had been realized.

The sixth Commonwealth education conference will be held in Jamaica in 1974.



## *Mr. Sharp Reports on the Department of External Affairs*

*The following statement was made on May 19, 1971, to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on External Affairs and National Defence by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp:*

The purpose of my being here this afternoon is to answer, or try to answer, any questions you may have arising out of the estimates of my Department. What I have to say by way of introduction will, therefore, be very brief.

When I appeared at the Committee to discuss the estimates last year, the Department was facing a very difficult budget situation. We had to close certain missions, recruitment of officers had stopped, staffs at our missions abroad were being cut back. Criticism of the Department was coming from all directions; the very role, function and future of the Department were under questioning. In the face of these adversities, morale in the Department was suffering.

From that low point we have made tremendous progress. Two missions, to the People's Republic of China and the Vatican, have been opened. In the current year we will be opening a mission in Algeria. The opening of a mission in Zambia, in which I know this Committee is particularly interested, is under study; and plans are advancing for the opening of a permanent observer mission to the OAS [Organization of American States] in Washington. Opening missions is not an end in itself, or in itself significant evidence of progress, but in all these cases the aim is the furtherance of essential Canadian objectives and interests.

We are again hiring officers. Many of our missions overseas continue to be understaffed, with their resources stretched to the limit. The reorganization of the Department and the moves toward greater integration of the whole foreign service will, through time, ease this problem. . . .

Morale in the Department is now, I believe, much improved. The publication of the foreign policy papers last June has given the Department a clear mandate from the Government and a new sense of direction. This, in turn, has given the Department's officers a sense of accomplishment and the feeling that once again they have an opportunity to serve their country. *Foreign Policy for Canadians* has had a mixed reception from the interested public — anything else would have been a miracle. It has stimulated dialogue between the Department and its friends and critics from which both sides have benefited. Your Committee, in its hearings on the general paper, has made an important contribution to this dialogue.

In preparing for my appearance this afternoon, I have been reflecting on the way in which the policy guidance provided by the foreign policy papers is being given effect. I should like to give you some brief highlights, which will make clear

that the foreign policy papers are not a theoretical exercise but a present reality in our work.

### **Latin America**

The papers stated the Government's intention to seek permanent observer status with the OAS. This decision was conveyed to the Organization at its General Assembly in Washington last year and stated in more detail by the Parliamentary Secretary at the General Assembly in San José last month. The Assembly passed a resolution to establish the status of permanent observership as a basis of association with the activities of the OAS. The Permanent Council is working out the details of timing and modalities and, as I suggested, we are studying the establishment of a mission in Washington.

### **International Development**

As forecast in the papers, the funds available to CIDA [the Canadian International Development Agency] have been increased by 17 per cent. Some progress has been made with aid-untying, and the percentage of assistance flowing through multilateral channels will reach the forecast figure of 25 per cent. The International Development and Research Centre has been set up under Mr. Pearson and Dr. Hopper, and is now operational.

### **Europe**

A common criticism of the papers was that they seemed to presage a de-emphasis of Europe among Canada's foreign policy preoccupations. I always found this difficult to understand, since it is not what the papers said. In fact, as anticipated, our relations with Europe have been strengthened and intensified in the past year. Their importance has never been more clearly seen. Throughout the year in Canada, and on several occasions in Europe, I and other ministers have been engaged in a series of discussions with European leaders of the greatest significance for our relations with that part of the world.

Relations with Eastern Europe have not been neglected. The Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union is dramatic evidence of our determination to broaden and deepen our relations with the nations of Eastern Europe, in terms of trade, scientific and technological exchange and cultural exchange.

### **The Pacific**

The opening of our mission in Peking is the most notable event in this area. The papers suggested that Canada might "make a contribution toward bringing China into a more constructive relationship with the world community", a process in which we have been able to take the first step. Canada has made clear its view that Peking should take the China seat at the United Nations.

There has been an important series of ministerial visits back and forth between Canada and Australia and New Zealand. The Prime Minister has visited these countries, and also India, Ceylon, Japan, Singapore and Indonesia.

The papers suggested that Canada should seek non-regional membership in the ECAFE [Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East]. This we are postponing until after some questions of a constitutional and organizational nature within the ECAFE have been resolved by the membership. This is an example of the constraints placed upon freedom of action internationally with which the general paper deals.

### **United Nations**

The foreign policy papers pledge Canada's continuing support for the United Nations as it strives to fulfil its two great functions — to keep the peace and to improve the conditions of life on earth. Much of the work of the Organization is on-going in character, and not less important for this reason. But the United Nations is striking out in new directions as new, or newly-realized, international problems come to the fore. Of particular interest to Canada, with its long shoreline and technologically-advanced society, is the world-wide move towards the control of pollution, the protection of the environment and the enhancement of the quality of life.

The United Nations is responding by the holding of a major conference on the human environment in Stockholm next year, with Maurice Strong as Secretary-General. UNESCO [the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] is in the process of launching an international undertaking of scientific co-operation among member states, to be known as the Man and the Biosphere Project.

Other international bodies to which Canada belongs are active in the field. NATO [the North Atlantic Treaty Organization] has its Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society. The OECD [Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development] has recently established an Environment Committee to deal with questions of air and water management, pollution by automobiles, industrial pollution and the environmental problems of urban society, among others.

The Economic Commission for Europe is now holding a conference on problems relating to the environment in Prague. Canada is represented. It also plans a seminar on air and water pollution arising in the iron and steel industry in Leningrad in August.

On June 10 I shall lead the Canadian delegation to the second ministerial meeting of the IJC [International Joint Commission] on Great Lakes pollution. The delegation will include representatives of the interested provinces. It is hoped that at this meeting agreement can be reached on quality standards for Great Lakes water and that arrangements can be made to enable the IJC to exercise increased responsibility for the maintenance of these standards.

The sudden multiplication of activities related to the "quality of life" has not caught the Department unprepared. The Scientific Relations and Environmental Problems Division was established in 1970 and reorganized this year



as the Bureau of Economic and Scientific Affairs. In addition to co-ordinating Canada's contributions to the various international initiatives I have described, the scientific affairs arm of the Bureau is responsible for the establishment of bilateral exchanges such as the scientific and technological agreement reached with the Soviet Union last fall. In addition, this Bureau has the day-to-day management of all of Canada's specific national interests in the allied fields of science in general and protection of the environment in particular.

Returning for a moment to the United Nations, the foreign policy papers state that in the 1970s Canada should give a high priority to work on arms control and disarmament. In this field Canada made an important contribution to the recently concluded Seabed Arms Control Treaty and is continuing its efforts towards progress in the search for a comprehensive nuclear test-ban and the outlawing of chemical and biological weapons in warfare. In NATO we are working with our allies for mutual balanced force reductions in Europe and, as a group, consulting with the United States on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

The papers discuss the need for Canada to project abroad its distinctive bilingual and multicultural nature. Progress is being made, in the normalization of our relations with France, in increased development assistance to *francophone* countries of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. L'Agence de coopération culturelle et technique has been successfully founded and its first formal conference will be held in Canada this fall. This makes clear that Canada has been successful in its effort to be accepted internationally as being equally a French-speaking and an English-speaking country.

Recently I visited five of the developing countries of Africa, both *anglophone* and *francophone*. I believe that you will now be turning your attention to African problems and I look forward to discussing these with you next month.

All of these activities, and all of Canada's activities, must be seen against the background of our complex and intricate relations with the United States. The general paper identifies Canada's central problem as being "how to live in harmony with, but distinct from, the greatest power on earth". It also identifies the United States as our closest friend and ally. This is familiar ground. I shall not cover it again, except to say that, while we must accept, live with and be grateful for our interdependence with our North American neighbour, we must constantly be watchful to protect that essential independence of thought and action that is basic to our continued national existence.

These brief comments only touch the surface of the work that has been done in the Department to implement the foreign policy papers. Much more lies ahead. I am satisfied that a strengthened and renewed Department will fulfil its renewed mandate confidently and effectively.

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Prime Minister Trudeau's Soviet Visit**

*The following statement was made by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau in the House of Commons on May 28:*

. . . The Soviet Union occupies a vast land-mass extending through 11 time-zones — some of which I am still feeling — with climates varying from the desert heat of Central Asia to the frigid temperatures of the Arctic. While in the U.S.S.R., I was taken by the Soviet Government to six cities in addition to Moscow. We travelled some 12,400 kilometres while doing so. Two of those cities, Murmansk and Norilsk, were within the Arctic Circle, the largest communities in the world that far north. They offered evidence of the advantages to be gained by Canada in the development of our North through closer co-operation and exchanges with the Soviet Union.

This visit to the U.S.S.R., which concluded just three hours ago, was the first of a Canadian Prime Minister, while in office, to that country. It was by no means, however, the first occasion on which a minister of the Canadian Government had travelled in the Soviet Union. Our relations with that country have been developing and increasing in complexity since Canada first opened an embassy in Moscow in the early 1940s.

Honourable Members will recall that Canada has long had treaty arrangements with the Soviet Government. Our first trade agreement was signed in 1956. Since that time, in every year except 1969 we have enjoyed a favourable and often substantial balance of trade in our favour. I might add that while in Moscow our trade in wheat was reviewed, including the Soviet assurance that, when the U.S.S.R. has requirements to import wheat, it will in the first instance apply to Canada as a preferred source of supply. In January of this year the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce concluded an important agreement with the U.S.S.R. on the industrial application of science and technology, an agreement which reflects the recognition in the U.S.S.R. of Canada's increasing stature as the owner of important, advanced technology and of our awareness of the important progress made by the Soviets in a number of fields.

### **New Interest Not Only Governmental**

This increasing interest in the Soviet Union has not been confined to the Government. A wide range of contacts has been established in recent years by persons who recognize the Soviet Union as a near neighbour, as a country of great influence, as a market-place and trading partner of immense potential, as the home of wide cultural attainments and as a fascinating land. I believe we have much to gain in this process of increasing awareness. . . .

Canadian businessmen, scholars, artists, athletes and tourists are visiting the Soviet Union in increasing numbers and with considerable success. While my party was in Leningrad yesterday a ship unloaded a valuable cargo of sophisticated, heavy-tracked vehicles purchased by the Soviets from a Calgary manufacturer. Earlier in my visit, I was delighted to be told that an Edmonton girl, Miss Elizabeth Carruthers, had placed first in one of the events at a championship diving meet in Rega and that two of her Canadian team-mates came third and fourth.

### **Purpose of Protocol**

Against this steadily developing background, it was only natural that steps be taken to place Canadian-Soviet relations on a more "structured" and orderly basis, and this was the purpose of the Protocol which was signed in Moscow last week and tabled in this House by the Secretary of State for External Affairs on the same day.

This document, which I believe to be an important one, goes some distance toward placing Canadian-Soviet consultations on the same basis as has existed for a number of years with the United Kingdom, the United States and Japan. Honourable Members will recall that a similar arrangement was entered into with Mexico as part of the work of the ministerial committee which travelled to Latin America, and that agreements for regular consultation with both New Zealand and Australia were reached during my visits to those countries last May.

This process of broadening Canadian relations is an ongoing one and was spelled out in the foreign policy review. The principles of that review have been discussed widely in Canada and were studied at length by a Parliamentary Committee. The foreign policy of this Government has been to contribute where it can to a peaceful world and to strengthen our relations with a number of countries. In both respects this policy is designed to serve basic Canadian values and interests. The Canadian-Soviet Protocol is a natural manifestation of that policy.

As the communiqué which was tabled this morning reveals, the Protocol will ensure continuing consultations at a variety of levels on matters of the kind discussed by me and the Soviet leaders, President Podgorny, Premier Kosygin and Secretary-General Brezhnev. The communiqué refers to the desirability of relaxation of international tensions and of stability and *détente* in Europe; economic, scientific and technological co-operation; Canadian-Soviet trade; Arctic and northern development, including the safety of navigation and the prevention of pollution; the significance of the forthcoming UN Conference on the Human Environment; the conviction that international issues be resolved in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and that the effectiveness of the UN be enhanced; satisfaction at the conclusion of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and the treaty prohibiting placement of weapons of mass destruction on the ocean-floor. . . .

. . . I remind the House that the foreign policy review stated that we would



seek actively opportunities to further Canadian interests; that wherever possible we would not wait passively for events to occur and then react to them; that, in short, we would pursue in as judicious and advantageous a way as possible the broad range of policies which are permitted to Canada as a country which is well-respected abroad.

These things we have been doing, and these things we shall continue to do.

### **New Contacts Explored**

While in no way diluting our friendship or our contacts with those countries, such as the United States, Britain, France and others, with which we have had traditional and friendly relations, we have taken a fresh look at the world and at the Canadian interests in it. Areas of the world which have not in the past figured prominently in Canada have been sought out consciously as friends, as prospective trading partners, as sources of information and advice, as contributors to an independent Canada, a Canada not overwhelmingly dependent upon or dominated by any one state or group of states — in short, a Canada with a singular identity and well recognized as such both by Canadians and by citizens of other countries.

We have been active in the world in those areas where we could contribute positively and usefully: economic and technical assistance, through the creation of the Canadian International Development Research Centre; fresh juristic concepts for the prevention of pollution in waters off our shores and for the conservation of fisheries; studies and proposals in the fields of disarmament and arms-control. We have looked to Latin America and are seeking permanent observer status in the Organization of American States; we have expressed our many-faceted interest in the countries of the far “rim” of the Pacific; we have adjusted our defence posture to remove from it any elements that could be regarded as provocative, and to ensure that our policy adequately but truly reflects the needs of Canada for national defence; we have been successful in establishing useful and official contacts with the most populous nation in the world, the People’s Republic of China; we have entered wholeheartedly the new Francophonie organization.

All this has been done while retaining Canadian membership in NATO and NORAD, while strengthening our relations with such economic associations as the OECD and GATT, while contributing in an effective and constructive fashion to the UN and to the Commonwealth.

These activities are good in themselves, are good for Canada and, I am convinced, are supported strongly by the majority of Canadians.

It is in this context that my visit to the Soviet Union should be viewed. As we have looked traditionally south to the United States and east to Europe and, more recently, west to Asia, so should we not disregard our neighbour to the north. The relations between Canada and the Soviet Union in the postwar years have not all been of a wholesome or a desirable nature. I harbour no naive belief that as a result of this Protocol our two countries will find themselves sud-

denly in a relation which will reflect nothing but sweetness and tender feelings. As I stated in my speech in the Kremlin, there remain many fundamental differences between us — differences relating to deep-seated concerns springing from historic, geographic, ideological, economic, social and military factors.

### **What Visits Can Achieve**

But surely the only way to resolve these differences and eliminate these concerns is by increased contact and effort at understanding. That is what the Protocol proposes. That is what, in a different way, is achieved by prime ministerial visits. Through them an opportunity is created by the pens of journalists and the cameras of photographers for the people of both Canada and the Soviet Union to learn much more about one another — their respective histories, their sufferings, their aspirations.

No one can travel in the Ukraine and not absorb the instinctive and passionate desire for peace on the part of a people who lost nine million of their countrymen during the Second World War, a number approaching in magnitude the entire population of Canada at that time. No one can walk through the cemeteries of Leningrad and view the mass graves of tens of thousands of residents of that city who died of starvation during the cruel 900-day siege and not understand that the Russian people fear desperately the repetition of an experience which no Canadians, fortunately, have ever suffered. The death of half the people of a city — 600,000 of them women, children and civilians — did not spare a single Leningrad family. The survivors of that cruel conflict do not regard war as an abstract concept, as a glorious pursuit or as a credible means of resolving disputes. War to them is the loss before one's eyes of loved ones, of home, of possessions; of hope.

To achieve a satisfactory, just and continuing peace requires a climate of confidence, a climate in which men of differing social and economic systems trust one another. There is no simple way in which this can be done, but neither is there the slightest doubt that it must be done. Equally, confidence can be engendered only by increasing contact of governments and of people. In this way, gradually, and sometimes painfully, can we continue and accelerate the slow progress toward a world in which the foremost goals of every government of every country must be the attainment of social justice, fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of all human beings.

Because tolerance and good will are nowhere so evident as they are in Canada, Canadians are possessed of an uncommon opportunity to urge all men everywhere to pursue these universal goals. I attempted to do so while in the Soviet Union, where I expressed to Premier Kosygin the widespread concern in Canada over the alleged refusal of the Soviet Government to permit its Jewish citizens to emigrate to Israel or to other countries of their choice. I was assured by Mr. Kosygin that these allegations were not well-founded and that, in particular, his Government had permitted the exit to Israel for many months of signi-

ficant numbers of Soviet Jews. I might add that Mr. Kosygin's statement has been corroborated by the Canadian Government from other, independent sources.

I seized the opportunity to urge Mr. Kosygin to permit persons of all ethnic origins with relatives in Canada to come here and thus reunify the many families which have been split tragically for many years. He assured me that his Government would not place unjustifiable barriers in the way of those persons and he promised that he would give personal attention to the list of names of such persons which I took with me to Moscow.

In another area entirely, I was able to discuss with Mr. Kosygin the concern and fear expressed by our East Coast fishermen over the practices of the Soviet Atlantic fishing fleet. I pointed out to him the immense increase in recent years of the Soviet catch, the decrease in the Canadian catch and the vital need for conservation of this important food resource in the interests of both our countries. Mr. Kosygin observed that the Soviet Union was a party to the North Atlantic Fisheries Convention and had a profound interest in a long-lasting and healthy fish-stock. We agreed that this issue was deserving of further talks.

Only time will tell whether the warm welcome which was accorded me in the U.S.S.R. reflects the commencement of an era in Canadian-Soviet relations as advantageous as we all hope will be the case. I prefer to be optimistic and I am urging all government departments to exploit these new openings. I urge Canadian businessmen to accept the new challenge. For our part as Canadians, I assured the Soviet leaders that there was no impediment in our desire for better and more mutually-beneficial relations. In the pursuit of those benefits, I am happy to report to the House the exceedingly high reputation and the impressive competence of the Canadian Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr. R. A. D. Ford, and his conscientious and professional staff.

As the House is aware, I invited Premier Kosygin to visit Canada at a time convenient to each of us, and he accepted with pleasure. I am certain that on that occasion Canadians will respond to the Soviet leader with the same warmth and congeniality as was shown to me by persons in every city I visited. I am particularly grateful to Mr. Kosygin, who spent some 20 hours with me and whose daughter acted throughout the visit as the hostess for my wife.

I am happy that I was given the opportunity to make the trip. I am happy to be back. I am happy at what appears to be the favourable results of the visit.

### **Character of the U.S.S.R. - Canada Protocol**

*The following statement was made in the House of Commons on May 28 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp:*

. . . As the House knows, it is clear under our constitution that the power to make arrangements with other nations resides in the Crown, that is to say in



the Government. I do not believe there is any dispute about it. . . . It has always been Canadian practice to table documents of an important nature in the House as soon as it may conveniently be done. In this case, as Honourable Members are aware, the Protocol was tabled on May 20, a day after it was signed in Moscow. This Protocol envisages consultations on a wide range of issues between the Government of Canada and the Soviet Union. It does not stand alone, but is the latest in a series of arrangements for consultation entered into by successive Canadian Governments, of which one of the first was with . . . the United States.<sup>(1)</sup>

Let us look at what happened on that occasion. That was entered into in 1953 by an exchange of notes between the two governments. I do not think that Honourable Members question the importance of that document. If I had been the Secretary of State for External Affairs at that time, I should have referred to it as an important and historic document, exactly the words that I used the other day with respect to the Protocol for consultation with the Soviet Union. I do not think that Honourable Members either will question the value to Canada of this joint committee, which, with few exceptions, has met annually to discuss matters of substance. There was no debate whatever in the House of Commons prior to the exchange of notes. It was reported to the House, as I have reported, on behalf of the Government, the signing of the Protocol with the Soviet Union.

Now, I come to one that is perhaps of even more significance. . . . I refer to the Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee, which was established on June 26, 1961. . . . This Committee has met regularly since and has proved to be a valuable instrument in the conduct of relations with our neighbour to the west. Indeed, among the instruments that provide for consultation (and we have very few of these) this was the second to be established. It was also an historic and important document. . . .

Arrangements of this kind are enabling in nature and do not necessarily impose obligations upon either side. A Mexico-Canada Joint Committee was established by exchange of notes on November 22, 1968, without prior debate in the House. I bring these facts to the attention of the House because they show the flexibility that is possible within these arrangements. In fact, the Joint Committee that was established has not yet met. This does not suggest that the Government does not attach great importance to our relations with Mexico or that the Committee will not meet. As a matter of fact, I expect that it will meet this year, but it has been a matter of convenience and therefore these kinds of arrangement are very flexible. They are as useful as we want to make them. In effect, it is for this that these arrangements provide.

As I have suggested, the form used to establish arrangements of this kind can vary depending upon circumstances. Informal consultative arrangements also exist with France. We have a *commission mixte*. These arrangements were brought

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<sup>(1)</sup> Exchange of Notes (November 12, 1953) between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement for the establishment of a Joint Canada-United States Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs.

into being without any written exchange and without debate in the House, and have proven no less useful and effective for those reasons.

I do not intend to rehearse today the circumstances in which all our arrangements similar to the Canada-U.S.S.R. Protocol were worked out. In addition to those I have dealt with, we have consultative arrangements with Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Tunisia. In no case was any of these arrangements reached after debate in the House.

### **No Change in Foreign Policy Direction**

It cannot be argued that the signing of the Protocol augurs any change in the direction of our foreign policy. The Prime Minister has stated publicly in Moscow that Mr. Kosygin signed the Protocol in the full understanding that Canada intends to continue its full membership in the North Atlantic alliance and as a close ally of the United States in the defence of North America. The Prime Minister and I on a number of occasions have stated in this House and elsewhere Canada's firm intention to increase its bilateral contacts with the nations of Eastern Europe. A definitive statement of Government policy on this matter is there for all to read in *Foreign Policy for Canadians*.

The North Atlantic alliance, in its search for *détente*, has urged upon its members, including Canada, the advantages to be gained by the multiplication of contacts and consultations between its members and members of the Warsaw Pact, so that, far from doing anything that is suspicious to our allies, we are in fact carrying out what has been decided upon as sound policy in the interests of promoting peace and stability in the world.

In this connection Honourable Members will recall that a protocol providing for consultations on a wide range of issues was signed in Moscow last October by President Podgorny of the Soviet Union and President Pompidou of France, one of our NATO allies. . . . I can assure the House that France did not consult her allies before signing that protocol with the Soviet Union. We took no exception to it. We welcomed it. . . . I know that our Protocol with the Soviet Union will be welcomed by our allies as carrying out a firm and declared policy of NATO.

The development of Canada's bilateral relations with the Soviet Union has been steady and positive, although there have been a number of setbacks. After the euphoria that characterized the immediate postwar period our relations might have been described as correct. The Cold War thawed briefly in the period 1955-56 and a trade agreement between Canada and the Soviet Union was signed at Ottawa on February 29, 1956. This was followed by a visit to the Soviet Union by the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, then Secretary of State for External Affairs. This was the first visit made by a Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Soviet Union.

### **Origins of Current Phase**

The present phase of our relations with the Soviet Union can be said to date from

1965, which saw the first academic exchanges and the first posting of Canadian newsmen in Moscow. These moves stemmed from the first large sales of Canadian wheat, from the *détente* arising from the settlement of the Cuban crisis, and the signing of the test-ban treaty. Continuing wheat sales and the growing Soviet need for Western sources of technology encouraged the Soviet Union to seek closer relations and wider exchanges, cultural, technological and scientific, with Canada. Soviet participation in Expo 67 brought Deputy Premier Polyansky to Canada in 1966 and 1967. A number of other Soviet ministers also visited Expo 67, as did some 6,000 other Soviet citizens. In the same year Senator Martin, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, visited the Soviet Union, as did other ministers.

The Soviet Union, after the freeze in East-West relations brought about by the invasion of Czechoslovakia, moved quickly to re-establish contact with a number of Western countries, including Canada. In July 1969, Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, stated that:

The Soviet Government attaches substantial significance to our relations with Canada. In recent years, a widening of mutually beneficial links has developed in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields and a good basis has been laid for political contacts between our countries. We are for a further development of relations with Canada.

This was closely followed by Mr. Gromyko's visit to Ottawa in October 1969. This visit gave renewed impetus to negotiations toward the Agreement on Co-operation in the Industrial Application of Science and Technology, signed on behalf of Canada by the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce in January of this year. Canada has responded and is continuing to respond to these Soviet initiatives carefully, after due thought, and in pursuit of our own national aims and objectives.

At the same time we have not hesitated to let the Soviet Union know, in the clearest possible terms, when we disagree with them. This was done, for instance, in the cases of the invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the trials of Soviet Jewish citizens in Leningrad. Honourable Members should not assume that consultative arrangements like the Protocol are useful only with nations with whom we are basically in agreement. Indeed, they can be more useful where there are fundamental disagreements. By signing this Protocol, Mr. Kosygin has indicated Soviet willingness to discuss with us matters of Soviet policy that may be causing us trouble and distress.

This review of the development of Canada-U.S.S.R. relations since the war has been sketchy and selective. It is not my purpose today to give a history lesson, but to remind the House that despite setbacks there has been a steady, if slow, improvement in our contacts with the Soviet Union . . .

Although it is an important and historic development, as I have said, we share some very basic concerns with the Soviet Union. As the two principal circumpolar powers, we both have a special responsibility for the Arctic. We both have endless tracts of tundra, rich in mineral resources but presenting developmental and ecological problems of the greatest magnitude. In this area there is a



great deal that we can learn from the Soviet Union. In the field of technology and secondary industry there may be something they can learn from us.

It is not by accident of history that Canada has entered into a series of arrangements for consultation in the last decade. It is the working out in practice of the new dynamic diplomacy that has been made possible by the great development in the means of communication. Ministers and officials of governments need no longer rely on written and telegraphic communications; they can meet regularly, at short notice, and discuss, face to face, problems of bilateral or worldwide concern. It is my hope that in this new era of dynamic diplomacy we can avoid the misunderstandings and miscalculations that in the past have led to global conflicts.

### **International Meetings — NATO and OECD Communiqués**

*The following report was made to the House of Commons on June 14 by Mr. Sharp:*

Mr. Speaker, returning to the House after two weeks of meetings in Lisbon, Paris, Washington and New York, I have a number of important matters to report.

On Friday at the United Nations in New York I had a meeting with the Secretary-General and Mr. Kittani, Assistant Secretary-General for Interagency Affairs, who has been co-ordinating the United Nations relief efforts in East Pakistan and West Bengal. This afternoon I will be seeing the Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh. These conversations will enable the Government to assess the present needs in East Pakistan and West Bengal and the machinery needed to provide relief. This will help us to provide further assistance in the most effective way.

My colleague the Minister of the Environment has reported to you on the joint ministerial meeting on Great Lakes pollution in Washington last Thursday, at which I led the Canadian delegation. The Canada-United States agreement that we will be negotiating in the next few months calls for intergovernmental co-operation on an unprecedented scale, involving as it does the Governments of Canada, Ontario and Quebec, on our side of the border, and of the United States and five Great Lakes states on the other.

I must say that I was impressed in Washington by the way all interested parties accepted their responsibilities for the reversal of the degradation of the Great Lakes, by the shared determination to get on with the job, and particularly by the sense of urgency expressed by speaker after speaker.

We are already at work on the problem, on both sides of the border. The agreement, when it comes into effect, will establish specific goals, speed up the work and provide powers to the International Joint Commission to carry out the necessary surveillance to ensure that quality standards are met and maintained.

## **Alaskan Oil Discussed**

While in Washington, as I indicated to the House earlier, my colleague the Minister of the Environment and I had a meeting with Secretary Rogers on the proposed movement of oil from Prudhoe Bay to Seattle through the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Strait of Georgia. I made clear to Secretary Rogers that my purpose was not, as some have suggested, to promote the so-called "Mackenzie Route" but rather to impress upon the United States Government its common interest with Canada in the avoidance of a major pollution threat to what my colleague the Minister of the Environment described as "essentially an inland sea around which are population concentrations and substantial economic interests as well as features of great natural beauty and recreational value".

I impressed upon Secretary Rogers that the movement of oil through these waters offered no economic benefit whatever to Canada, while imposing upon Canada almost all the risks of oil pollution. We cannot prevent it legally. We can expect the United States to share our concern and to join in doing everything possible to avoid catastrophe.

Mr. Rogers undertook to let me know very shortly about arrangements for special joint studies into this environmental problem. In return, I agree with him that such joint studies could include oil-pollution problems on the Atlantic seaboard, where the movement of tankers to Canadian ports could threaten the environment. I am satisfied that our views are being made known in such a way as to have a bearing on United States consideration of the matter before final decisions are taken.

## **NATO Meeting in Lisbon**

At the NATO foreign ministers meeting in Lisbon, the alliance concentrated on the very real movement toward *détente* between East and West that was foreseen at the December meeting in Brussels. This return upon many years' careful planning, and probing of Soviet intentions, is bringing a new sense of direction to the alliance, away from confrontation and toward negotiation. As in Washington later, I had the sense of participation in a historic event.

Progress in the four-power talks on Berlin enabled ministers to express their hope that, before their next meeting in December, those negotiations might have reached a stage where multilateral conversations leading toward a security conference could begin. This confirms the importance the alliance attaches to a satisfactory outcome of the Berlin talks, to create the necessary climate for the resolution of wider European problems.

The principal issue at the meeting was the alliance's proposal for mutual balanced force reductions. After some years of silence, recently there have been strong indications of Soviet interest. Mr. Brezhnev's speech in Tiflis in May, the conversations the Prime Minister had with Soviet leaders in Moscow and Mr. Brezhnev's speech of last Friday strongly suggest that the Soviet Union is adopting a more forthcoming stance on force reductions.

The ministers agreed that further clarification is needed to establish if enough ground exists for negotiations to start. Ministers agreed that their governments would continue to intensify explorations with the nations of Eastern Europe on a bilateral basis. If I may say so, incidentally, this is one of the things our Prime Minister was doing when he was in Moscow. They also agreed that deputy foreign ministers or other senior officials should meet in Brussels at an early date to review the results of the exploratory contacts and to consult on the substantive and procedural approaches to mutual balanced force reductions. Canada supported these moves and called for more direct action. In response to a Canadian proposal, ministers expressed their willingness to appoint at the appropriate time a representative or representatives to conduct further exploratory talks with the Soviet Union and other interested governments. Let us hope that the response from the Soviet Union and its allies will show an intention to negotiate actively and without delay on this issue of vital importance to security and stability in Europe.

I took advantage of my presence at the meeting to have bilateral talks with some of my colleagues from member nations. Of special interest to the House will be the frank and forthright talk I had with Mr. Patricio, Foreign Minister of Portugal. I made clear to him the firm attitude of the Canadian people to Portuguese colonial policy in Africa. I gave him a report of the conversations I had with black African leaders in March. I urged Portugal, as I have done on previous occasions, to move toward self-government for its African territories in its own interest as well as in the interest of humanity as a whole.

### **OECD Meeting in Paris**

From the NATO meeting in Lisbon I went to the OECD ministerial meeting in Paris, at which I was accompanied by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce.

The meeting concentrated upon the economic outlook, the establishment of a high-level group on problems of trade liberalization, and development assistance. On the economic outlook the mood was one of restrained optimism. A better rate of increase in GNP for member nations was foreseen, particularly in North America. I was struck by the extent to which member nations share common preoccupations and problems, unemployment, inflation and threats to the physical environment. These will continue to plague us and the meeting found no easy solutions. Ministers agreed without dissent that full employment cannot be bought at the price of inflation. The need to break the inflation psychology was stressed, and I urged the Organization, as a body above domestic politics, to continue and intensify both its studies of the problem and its efforts to increase public understanding of the insidious dangers of inflation.

There was a full discussion of the Secretary-General's proposals for the creation of a high-level group to assess current problems in international trade, to consider how these problems might be met, and to set out various options for their solution. The Secretary-General's initiative was also aimed at maintaining



the high degree of liberalization achieved in international trade and the prevention of backsliding. The initiative received very wide support and ministers agreed to the creation of the group. I made clear our intention to contribute to the work of the group and our expectation that it will pave the way for further progress in multilateral trade without infringing on the responsibilities and prerogatives of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This last point was developed by most other speakers and is reflected in the communiqué. . . .

## **International Development Research Centre**

*Mr. Sharp made the following statement on June 21:*

We have consulted the management of the International Development Research Centre, who report that the following projects have been approved by the Board of Governors of the Centre: (1) research on non-tariff barriers to trade in selected developed countries, particularly as these affect developing-country products; (2) a research study of fertility decline in the Island of Barbados; (3) support for further development and improvement of the new cereal species "Triticale"; (4) support for the development and computerization of an Aligned Descriptor List for the use of international libraries, to permit a more effective storage and retrieval of library information; (5) research to determine the technical feasibility of pre-serving food by osmotic dehydration; (6) research into the origins and motivations of migration of slum-dwellers and squatters living in eight cities in developing countries. It is contrary to the policy of the International Development Research Centre to disclose projects being considered by the Board of Governors.

The management of the International Development Research Centre informs us that project support is at present made available only to institutions. In the case of each project approved, the details are as follows: (1) to the Private Planning Association of Canada, Montreal, Quebec, \$18,759; (2) to the University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, the Barbados Family Planning Association and the University of the West Indies, Barbados, \$69,000; (3) to the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, \$12,400; (4) to the Development Centre of the OECD, Paris, France, \$28,000; (5) to the Food Research Institute, Canadian Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, Ontario, \$6,000; (6) to INTERMET (International Association for Metropolitan Research and Development), in collaboration with study groups in the following eight cities in developing countries, \$84,000: 1. Bandung, Indonesia; 2. Lima, Peru; 3. Caracas, Venezuela; 4. Seoul, Korea; 5. Istanbul, Turkey; 6. Ibadan, Nigeria; 7. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; 8. Manila, Philippines.

All projects are considered and approved or rejected by the Board of Governors of the International Development Research Centre. At this early point in the Centre's existence, the criteria applied by its Board of Governors in supporting projects and allocating expenditures are still evolving. It would be contrary to the Board's policy of applying flexible and pragmatic guidelines to its activities to articulate any firm criteria at this time.

## CONFERENCES

ITU World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications: Geneva,  
June 7 - July 16

ICAO Assembly: Vienna, June 15 - July 8

World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing: Vancouver, July 5-16

International Federation for Information Processing, fifth congress: Ljubljana, Yugoslavia,  
August 23-28

Fourth Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, September 6-16

Commonwealth Finance Ministers Meeting: Nassau, September 23-24

Fifteenth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency: Vienna,  
September 23-30

Third Commonwealth Medical Conference: Port Louis, Mauritius November 2-12

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Miss M. Albery, Administrative Services Officer 1, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Miss Albery is assigned to the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw.
- Mr. J. H. Allan, Administrative Services Officer 2, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Allan is assigned to the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco.
- Mr. G. E. Arbuthnot, Administrative Services Officer 3, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Arbuthnot is assigned to Ottawa.
- Miss E. Arnold, Administrative Officer 1, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Miss Arnold is assigned to the Office of the Senior Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong.
- Mr. J. A. Boucher, Financial Administrator 5, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Supply and Services, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Boucher is assigned to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels.
- Mr. A. B. Bourgeau, Administrative Services Officer 3, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Manpower and Immigration, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Bourgeau is assigned to Ottawa.
- Mr. J. R. A. Brissette, Financial Administrator 4, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Supply and Services, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Brissette is assigned to the Canadian Embassy, Paris.
- Miss A. Cholette, Administrative Services Officer 1, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Miss Cholette is assigned to the Office of the Senior Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong.
- Miss L. M. Craig, Administrative Services Officer 2, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Miss Craig is assigned to the Canadian High Commission, London.
- Miss T. Daignault, Administrative Services Officer 3, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Miss Daignault is assigned to Ottawa.
- Mr. G. F. Farrow, Administrative Services Officer 6, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Farrow is assigned to Ottawa.
- Mr. R. H. Field transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Field is assigned to Ottawa.
- Mr. J. R. G. Galipeau, Administrative Services Officer 4, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Manpower and Immigration effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Galipeau is assigned to Ottawa.
- Miss H. Groh, Administrative Services Officer 1, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Miss Groh is assigned to the Canadian Consulate General, Manila.



- Mr. G. Hanna, Financial Administrator 3, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Hanna is assigned to Ottawa.
- Mr. R. I. T. Hay, Administrative Services Officer 2, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Hay is assigned to the Canadian Consulate General, New York.
- Mr. A. K. Johnston, Administrative Services Officer 3, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Defence Research Board, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Johnston is assigned to the Canadian High Commission, London.
- Mrs. M. E. Kidd, Administrative Services Officer 1, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Mrs. Kidd is assigned to Ottawa.
- Mr. H. L. Kohler, Administrative Services Officer 3, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Kohler is assigned to the Canadian High Commission, London.
- Miss M. C. McCann, Administrative Services Officer 1, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Miss McCann is assigned to the Canadian Embassy, Bangkok.
- Mr. G. E. Saucier, Purchasing and Supply Officer 3, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Saucier is assigned to Ottawa.
- Mr. C. B. Smith, Administrative Services Officer 3, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of National Health and Welfare, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Smith is assigned to the Canadian High Commission, London.
- Miss V. Smith, Administrative Services Officer 3, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Miss Smith is assigned to the Canadian Consulate, Minneapolis.
- Mr. J. S. Sutherland, Financial Administrator 6, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Supply and Services, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Sutherland is assigned to the Canadian High Commission, London.
- Mr. L. G. Thompson, Financial Administrator 4, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Supply and Services, effective April 1, 1971. Mr. Thompson is assigned to the Canadian Embassy, Washington.
- Miss S. V. Mutter, Administrative Officer 1, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective May 3, 1971.
- Mr. J. Gaudreau appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 3, 1971.
- Mr. R. N. Howard appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 3, 1971.
- Mr. R. Irwin appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Officer 1, effective May 3, 1971.
- Mr. L. Mayrand, Canadian Ambassador to Cuba, retired from the Public Service, effective May 3, 1971.
- Mr. R. Saint-Martin appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 3, 1971.

- Mr. A. P. Bissonnet, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Paraguay, effective May 4, 1971.
- Miss M. C. Gillies posted from the Canadian Embassy, Budapest, to Ottawa, effective May 12, 1971.
- Miss S. Morel, Administrative Services Officer 1, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Posted to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective May 14, 1971.
- Mr. J. Bilodeau posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to Ottawa, effective May 13, 1971.
- Mr. J. L. T. M. Ouellette posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Marseilles, to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective May 16, 1971.
- Mr. G. A. Calkin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, effective May 19, 1971.
- Mr. V. C. Lapointe posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Marseilles, effective May 19, 1971.
- Mr. T. A. Keenleyside resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective May 19, 1971.
- Mr. R. P. Archambault posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective May 24, 1971.
- Mr. A. D. Bryce posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, effective May 24, 1971.
- Mr. J. P. Carrier posted from secondment to the United Nations Development Program, Bogota, to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, effective May 24, 1971.
- Mr. R. K. Henry posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective May 29, 1971.
- Miss D. Roy, Administrative Services Officer 1, transferred to the Department of External Affairs from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective April 1, 1971. Posted to the Canadian Embassy, Bangkok, effective May 28, 1971.
- Miss K. J. Heller posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective May 31, 1971.
- Mr. H. S. Sterling posted from the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, to Ottawa, effective May 31, 1971.
- Mr. J. Boyer appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Financial Administrator 1, effective May 31, 1971.





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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AUGUST 1971, CORRIGENDUM:

Caption to photograph on Page 289 should read:  
"Governor-General and Mrs. Michener (*centre*)  
with Their Royal Highnesses the Grand Duke and  
Grand Duchess of Luxembourg".





# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Canada's Ambassador Accredited to People's Republic of China*

IN a policy statement delivered on May 29, 1968, Prime Minister Trudeau indicated that one of the objectives of his Government's future foreign policy would be "to recognize the People's Republic of China as soon as possible". Following the election of 1968, the Government instructed the Department of External Affairs to review Canada's China policy with a view to finding a basis for establishing relations with the People's Republic. These studies were completed in the autumn of 1968 and on February 10, 1969, Mr. Sharp announced in the House of Commons that the Canadian Embassy in Stockholm had been instructed to propose to the Chinese Embassy there the opening of talks on recognition and the exchange of ambassadors. Over the course of the next 20 months, a series of meetings was held that led to the publication of a joint Sino-Canadian communiqué on October 13, 1970, announcing the establishment of diplomatic rela-



*Canada's Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, Mr. R. E. Collins, and Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu of the People's Republic of China pose with a number of other officials at the ceremony for the presentation of Mr. Collins's credentials in the Great Hall of the People, Tien An Men Square, Peking. Front row, left to right: Mr. D. M. Collacott, First Secretary, Canadian Embassy; Mr. Chi Peng-fei, Acting Foreign Minister, People's Republic of China; Mr. Collins; Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu; Mr. J. M. Fraser, Counsellor, Canadian Embassy; Mr. R. G. Godson, Commercial Counsellor, Canadian Embassy; Mr. Ling Ching, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China; Mr. D. M. Sockwell, Second Secretary, Canadian Embassy.*

tions between Canada and the People's Republic of China. It was agreed that each country should open an embassy in the other's capital within six months.

### **Opening of a Mission**

Following this announcement, a Canadian survey team went to China in December 1970, and in January of this year the Canadian Embassy in Peking began operating officially under a Chargé d'affaires ad interim, Mr. John Fraser. In February, the Chinese Embassy, under a Chargé d'affaires ad interim, Mr. Hsu Chung-fu, opened in Ottawa. On April 13, the exchange of ambassadors was announced. An Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. R. E. Collins, was appointed Canada's Ambassador to China and Mr. Huang Hua, a senior Chinese diplomat, was named China's Ambassador to Canada.

Mr. Collins, who was born in China, joined the Department of External Affairs in 1940. In addition to serving as Head of the European, Far Eastern and African and Middle Eastern Divisions of the Department in Ottawa, Mr. Collins served abroad in Chungking, Washington, London and Moscow and as Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa before becoming Assistant Under-Secretary in 1965.

After completing his assignment in Ottawa, Mr. Collins arrived in Peking early in June, and on June 10 presented his credentials to the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Tung Pi-wu, in the Great Hall of the People on Tien An Men Square. Accompanying Mr. Collins to the ceremony were Messrs J. M. Fraser, R. G. Godson, D. M. Collacott and D. M. Stockwell of the Canadian Embassy staff. In addition to Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Mr. Collins was greeted by China's Acting Foreign Minister, Mr. Chi Peng-fei, and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Messrs Ling Ching, Chu Chiu-sheng and Lu Tsung-ming, and Miss Wang Hai-jung.

### **Diplomatic Civilities**

Following the formal presentation of credentials and the taking of photographs, including coverage by CBC-TV (the English-language television network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation), Mr. Collins and Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu had a discussion of a variety of topics relating to Sino-Canadian relations. In reviewing these relations, Mr. Tung Pi-wu paid tribute to the contribution made to China by Canada's Dr. Norman Bethune. He also noted the trade and economic exchanges that had taken place between China and Canada. Mr. Tung Pi-wu noted, however, that Canada and China still had much to learn about each other and expressed the hope that the establishment of diplomatic relations would lead to greater understanding and an improvement and development of mutual relations in all areas during Mr. Collins' tour of duty in Peking.

Mr. Collins expressed Canada's pleasure at the invitation extended by China's Minister of Foreign Trade to the Canadian Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Mr. Jean-Luc Pepin, to lead a Canadian delegation to China to discuss

trade prospects between the two countries and suggested that this augured well for the future of Sino-Canadian relations.

Recalling Mr. Collins' previous time in China, Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu noted that since that time there had been many changes in China in the economy and in many other spheres. He invited Mr. Collins to observe these changes personally so that he might understand better the accomplishments and attitude of the Chinese people. Mr. Collins indicated that he was looking forward to renewing his acquaintance with China and to studying current developments.

Mr. Tung Pi-wu also requested that Mr. Collins convey his personal greetings to Governor-General Michener and Prime Minister Trudeau, and Mr. Collins expressed reciprocal greetings.

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### **Corrigendum**

*External Affairs*, July 1971: Page 236,  
under the heading "Fifth Visit" Line 7 –  
for "the *first* time" read "for the *fifth*  
time".



## *State Visit of Governor General to Benelux*

THEIR Excellencies the Governor General and Mrs. Michener paid a state visit to the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg in April 1971. Previous Governors General had made official visits to the United States and Brazil, and Mr. Michener had made an official visit to the Commonwealth Caribbean in 1969, but the Benelux visit was the first occasion on which a Governor General had travelled in Western Europe.

A favourable background existed for a visit to the Benelux countries. With Belgium, Canada's association goes back to the First World War and the Second World War, when Canadians participated in its liberation. More recently, Belgium and Canada have found reason to co-operate closely in such areas as La Francophonie; the two countries concluded a cultural agreement in 1967 and negotiated an agreement on co-operation in science and technology, which was signed in April 1971. With the Netherlands close connections developed through a shared experience in the Second World War and the residence of the then Princess Juliana in Ottawa. The present Grand Duke of Luxembourg also spent part of the war years in Canada.



Governor-General and Mrs. Michener (centre) with Their Majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians.  
Royal Highnesses the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Luxembourg

All these countries are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and have become important trading and investment partners. They have an outward-looking attitude as members of the European Economic Community (EEC) and have therefore usually been sympathetic to Canadian views. Partly for commercial reasons, and partly through the presence of Benelux immigrants in Canada, there has been an increasing degree of private contact between Canada and the Benelux nations. Canada's relations with Benelux at the governmental level are excellent. Finally, both Queen Juliana and the Prince of Liège (representing the King of the Belgians) visited Canada in 1967, and it was therefore appropriate to return these visits.

Governor-General and Mrs. Michener were accompanied throughout their trip by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and a small group of officials from Government House and the Department of External Affairs. In the course of his visits, Mr. Sharp held official talks with the Foreign Minister of each of the three countries, and in Brussels signed on behalf of Canada an agreement with Belgium on science and technology. He also met the Prime Ministers of the three Benelux countries and other members of their governments.

The official party flew from Ottawa to Gatwick Airport and spent the Easter weekend privately in London. Then, on the evening of April 12, Their Excellencies and Mr. Sharp boarded the naval supply ship HMCS *Preserver* in Portsmouth. Accompanied by three destroyer escorts, HMCS *Ottawa*, *Margaree* and *Assiniboine*, the Governor General and his party arrived in Amsterdam harbour on the morning of April 14 to begin the official visit.

### **The Netherlands**

The arrival ceremonies took place under ideal conditions; a bright sun, cloudless sky and warm spring weather made Amsterdam, a charming city under any circumstances, look particularly attractive. Waiting to greet Their Excellencies as they stepped ashore in front of the railway-station were Her Majesty Queen Juliana and His Royal Highness Prince Bernhard. A 21-gun salute was fired and a band of the Royal Netherlands Marines played "O Canada". After meeting the Netherlands Prime Minister and Cabinet, Their Excellencies and their royal hosts drove to the Dam Palace in the Queen's gold coaches, accompanied by a cavalry escort. Later in the day, His Excellency received the diplomatic corps, attended a civic reception in Amsterdam's City Hall and embarked on an hour-long boat tour of Amsterdam's canals.

That evening, the Queen was host at a gala dinner in honour of the Canadian visitors. In her remarks at the end of the dinner, she began by saying:

Your Excellency, you came to us over the seas. Seas separate continents and countries but they connect seafaring nations such as ours. Canada and the Netherlands are two nations . . . particularly interwoven by recent history: yesterday, today and, I trust, even more so tomorrow.

Her Majesty continued by mentioning some of the ties that bound the two coun-





*Her Majesty Queen Juliana of the Netherlands and Canada's Governor-General Roland Michener enjoy a boat-ride on the scenic canals of Amsterdam.*

tries and spoke of the important international tasks facing Canada and the Netherlands.

The following morning, Governor-General and Mrs. Michener, with Mr. Sharp and the rest of the party, flew from Amsterdam to Twente Air-Base in the province of Overijssel in the eastern part of the country. They were escorted by Her Royal Highness Princess Margriet, the third of the Queen's four daughters, who was born in Ottawa. There they saw the NF-5 aircraft, built by Canadair in Montreal, which has been taken into service by the Royal Netherlands Air Force.

From Twente, the party drove to the Canadian Military Cemetery at Holten, where an impressive service of remembrance was held in honour Canada's war dead. Wreaths were laid by the Governor General and Princess Margriet. Local school-children stood beside most of the 1,394 graves and placed small bouquets of flowers at the headstones. Once again, Canadian visitors were privileged to witness the care and attention given to these cemeteries by the local population, as well as by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

After lunch near Holten, Mr. Sharp returned to The Hague to meet with the Dutch Foreign Minister, while Their Excellencies visited the modern Hollandse



Signaalapparaten factory in nearby Hengelo. There they saw work in progress on electronic equipment for the Canadian navy.

The following day was highlighted by a visit with the Queen to the world-famous Keukenhof flower park in the heart of Holland's bulb-growing area near The Hague. Mrs. Michener was asked to officiate at the "christening" of a new variety of yellow tulip called "Beauty of Canada." The visitors were able to have a leisurely stroll among the flower-beds and through greenhouses filled with a spectacular array of tulips, narcissi, hyacinths and flowering shrubs. Later in the day, Their Excellencies met with the Canadian community at a reception at the residence of the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. A. J. Pick, and visited the historic Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem. That night, they were hosts at a dinner in honour of the Queen and Prince Bernhard on board HMCS *Preserver*.

In the morning of April 17, Their Excellencies bade farewell to Her Majesty and Prince Bernhard and left for The Hague for a private visit at the Canadian Ambassador's residence. The Secretary of State for External Affairs left for Brussels, where he had a number of official engagements.

## **Belgium**

On April 20, Their Excellencies arrived by air in Brussels to commence their state visit to Belgium. At the National Airport they were met by His Royal Highness Prince Albert and escorted to the Royal Palace in Brussels, where their hosts, Their Majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians, were waiting to greet them.

Following the arrival ceremonies, Their Excellencies proceeded with an impressive mounted cavalry escort to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (the Belgian National War Memorial), where the Governor General laid a wreath and rekindled the flame. In the afternoon, the visitors attended a municipal reception at the City Hall on Brussels famous Grand' Palace, and then received the diplomatic corps at the palace in the late afternoon. That evening, the King and Queen were hosts at a gala dinner in honour of the Canadian visitors.

The next morning, Their Excellencies visited the city of Mons, where they were received at the Town Hall by the Governor of the Province of Hainaut and the Burgomaster of Mons. Mr. Michener laid a wreath on the plaque outside the Town Hall that commemorates the liberation of Mons by the Canadian Army in November 1918. They then met with a large group of Canadian school-children whose parents were temporarily attached to NATO and living at nearby Casteau. The children sang several songs and all, with the exception of one homesick five year-old, declared themselves happy living in Belgium. His Excellency exercised his prerogative and declared a half-holiday for the children, which was greeted with delight by the young and enthusiastic audience.

Following lunch and short visits to a number of sites of historical interest, Their Excellencies returned to Brussels, where they attended a reception at the residence of the Ambassador, Mr. J. C. Langley, and met the Canadian community. They were joined by Mr. Sharp, who had spent the morning in official

talks with Belgian ministers, and had also signed an agreement on co-operation in science and technology with the Belgian Government.

In the evening, the visitors attended a recital followed by supper in the Château de Stuyvenberg, on the outskirts of Brussels, the former residence of the late Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, who did much to encourage the study of music in her long and active life.

The third day of the state visit was spent in the Province of West Flanders. Their Excellencies and Mr. Sharp went first to Hill 62, where the Governor General and His Royal Highness Prince Albert laid wreaths at the Canadian Battlefield Memorial, which commemorates the Battle of Sanctuary Wood. From there, the party travelled to Ypres, stopping at the Menen Gate to hear the Last Post, which is still sounded there every day. Mr. Michener remarked that it was the second time he had visited Ypres; the first occasion being many years ago following the First World War, when he had made a bicycle tour of the area as an Oxford undergraduate.

Their Excellencies then visited the historic and beautiful city of Bruges, where they had lunch and toured the city on foot. The state visit to Belgium ended following a dinner party given by Their Excellencies on board HMCS *Preserver*, which had meanwhile arrived in Antwerp.

The Governor General and Mrs. Michener remained in Belgium from April 23 to 25 on a private visit at the residence of the Canadian Ambassador. Mr. Sharp flew to Rome on April 23, where he held talks with the Italian Foreign Minister and two other members of the Italian Government. Mr. Sharp discussed questions relating to the enlargement of the EEC and other matters of bilateral concern. On April 24, he had an audience with His Holiness the Pope.

## **Luxembourg**

The Secretary of State for External Affairs rejoined Their Excellencies at Luxembourg Airport on the morning of April 26 to commence the state visit to the Grand Duchy. The visitors were greeted at the Airport by Their Royal Highnesses the Grand Duke Jean and Grand Duchess Charlotte, in cool, rainy weather.

Their Excellencies were taken to the Grand Ducal Palace in Luxembourg and at noon Mr. Michener received the diplomatic corps. Mr. Sharp meanwhile met with the Prime Minister, Mr. Werner, and then had lunch as the guest of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Gaston Thorn. In the afternoon, His Excellency laid a wreath at the War Memorial and the visitors then went to a civic reception offered by the Burgomaster, Miss Colette Flesch. In the evening, their Royal Highnesses entertained at a state dinner.

The next day, the party visited the town of Vianden, where Victor Hugo spent part of his life in exile, and Echternach, where they saw the Basilica and Crypt of Saint Willibrord, the Anglo-Saxon missionary who brought Christianity to much of Northwestern Europe.



In the afternoon, Their Excellencies, accompanied by the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess, officiated at the opening of a Canadian exhibition at the State Museum in Luxembourg. There were two exhibits, "Les Esquimaux vus par Matisse" and a display of contemporary Canadian art. That evening, Governor-General and Mrs. Michener entertained at dinner in honour of the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess at the Nouveau Théâtre, following which the guests attended a concert given by the well-known Canadian singer Félix Leclerc.

Next morning, April 29, Their Excellencies and Mr. Sharp bade farewell to their hosts and embarked on a Canadian Forces aircraft for the return flight to Ottawa. It was the opinion of all those who had taken part that the visit to the Benelux countries had been highly successful and that Canada's relations with the three nations concerned had been further strengthened.



*During his visit to Luxembourg, Mr. Sharp (front, left) chats with the Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn (front, right). In the background are (left) Mr. J. C. Langley, Canadian Ambassador to Luxembourg, and (right) Mr. K. W. McLellan, Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy, Luxembourg.*



## *Romanian-Canadian Relations*

CANADA'S developing relations with Romania were recently given further impetus by the visit to Canada of the Romanian Foreign Minister, His Excellency Corneliu Manescu, from June 15 to 18, as well as by the subsequent conclusion of a claims agreement and a renewed bilateral trade agreement on July 13 and 20, respectively.

Mr. Manescu, accompanied by his wife and senior officials from the Foreign Ministry and the Foreign Trade Ministry, paid an official visit to Canada at the invitation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp. This was in return for Mr. Sharp's visit to Romania in 1970, both visits being the first by the foreign minister of either country to the other.

Following their arrival by air in Montreal, Mr. and Mrs. Manescu and the official party proceeded to Ottawa by car and took up residence at 7 Rideau Gate, the Government guest-house. Mr. Manescu was officially welcomed by Mr. Sharp and an occasion was provided for an informal, relaxed opportunity to discuss the program for the visit. On the evening of June 16 Mr. Sharp gave an official dinner in Mr. Manescu's honour.



*The Foreign Minister of Romania, Mr. Manescu (right), in conversation with Prime Minister Trudeau (left) and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Mitchell Sharp.*

While in Ottawa, Mr. Manescu called on Prime Minister Trudeau and had discussions with Senator Martin, Leader of the Government in the Senate, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and the Honourable J. J. Greene, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources. Meetings were also held with the Honourable Lucien Lamoureux, Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Honourable Jean-Paul Deschatelets, Speaker of the Senate. Mr. and Mrs. Manescu had tea with Governor-General and Mrs. Michener. In addition, Mr. Manescu and his party spent a day at the Château Montebello, Montebello, P.Q.

### **Bilateral and Multilateral Problems**

During the two sessions of official talks between the two ministers, matters of mutual interest relating to both bilateral relations and international questions were discussed. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the progress to date in the general development of bilateral relations; specific topics included trade relations, consular matters (including the problem of divided families), claims and cultural, scientific and other exchanges. International topics discussed included European security, disarmament and the Middle East. The Romanian Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Bucur Schiopu, and the Canadian Ambassador to Romania, Mr. Bruce M. Williams, participated in the official talks.

As Mr. Sharp put it during the talks, Canada's relations with Romania were "increasing and improving steadily". On his part, Mr. Manescu, during the lunch he held in honour of Mr. Sharp on June 18, welcomed the positive evolution of Canadian-Romanian relations and expressed the wish that both existing and future possibilities for the expansion of these relations could be followed up to the benefit of both people. The visit of the Romanian Foreign Minister undoubtedly made a significant contribution towards maintaining and encouraging the development of Canadian-Romanian relations. It helped pave the way for the two substantive agreements concluded shortly afterwards.

On July 13, the Honourable E. J. Benson and Mr. Florea Dumitrescu, the Ministers of Finance of Canada and of Romania respectively, signed an agreement settling the outstanding claims of Canadian citizens and of the Canadian Government in respect of Romania. This agreement represents the successful culmination of efforts by both sides dating back to 1967 to resolve the claims issue. Both sides readily expressed satisfaction that this outstanding problem in Romanian-Canadian relations had at last been resolved.

On July 20, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce of Canada, and Mr. Dumitrescu signed a renewed bilateral trade agreement replacing the original Canada-Romania bilateral accord of 1968. Romania's exports to Canada will continue to enjoy most-favoured-nation tariff treatment, and it is expected that Canada's exports to Romania could total \$20 million over the next five years.

# *Apportionment of Foreign Aid Debated*

DURING March 1971 an exchange of correspondence took place in the Montreal newspapers *Le Devoir* and *La Presse* between Mr. Denis Turcotte of Quebec City and Mr. André Ouellet, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, concerning the manner in which Canada's assistance to developing countries was being apportioned. The texts of the two letters follow:

## **Aid Badly Apportioned** (Mr. Turcotte)

Canada, a "have" country, seems to have unquestionably entered on a course of granting aid to Third World countries, thus implementing the recommendations formulated by the Pearson Commission, which was created by the United Nations to look into this matter and placed under the chairmanship of one of Canada's most illustrious citizens. This aid, however one may look at it, is based mainly on cultural, political and historical ties.

So it is that, in the Americas, after Guyana and several other former British Caribbean territories, it is Jamaica's turn to enjoy Canadian favour. Within a period of a few weeks we have learned of various forms of Canadian aid to this country: gifts and loans amounting to several million dollars, followed, a few days later, by the announcement of increased scheduled flights by Air Canada, a Crown corporation, between these two countries in an effort to develop Canadian tourism to this Caribbean island and, finally, the signing of an income-tax agreement that should increase travel between the two countries. In short, Jamaica is becoming a topic of conversation — tourism, and all sorts of exchanges and investments, testify to this. Even Québecair, a private Quebec company, has just received authorization from the competent Canadian authorities to undertake charter flights to this tropical country.

There would be nothing left to do but to congratulate ourselves on these Canadian aid projects in the Caribbean Third World if, at the same time, we did not discern an enormous shortcoming — namely, that this aid does not seem to take into consideration the French Caribbean and, *a fortiori*, Haiti, an independent, developing country. Naturally it will be explained that the English-speaking Caribbean and Canada are members of the Commonwealth and that this institution serves as a framework for such initiatives. This explanation reminds us of a not-so-distant era when Canadian aid to African countries almost exclusively favoured the English-speaking countries for similar reasons. As we know, Quebec, on behalf of French-speaking Canadians, had to indicate its wish to co-operate with French-speaking African countries before Canada became aware of its responsibilities in this regard.



Must Quebec take similar action to force Canada to react favourably towards the French-speaking Caribbean? If so, we shall conclude that the interests of the Franco-Canadian population in particular and of the community of French-speaking countries in general are being served very poorly by the Canadian Confederation, which reacts only when Canadian unity is threatened as a result of such irregularities. The oft-repeated intention of the Department of External Affairs of Canada to "make up for lost time" in the French-speaking African countries substantiates this statement, if that were necessary. Fortunately, the authorities do not content themselves with intentions only, as is proved by the appreciation shown by many Africans; but we suspect that, in the vigour and frequency of the statements made by federal representatives, there is an ulterior motive, to hide from us similar shortcomings in other areas of the world, such as the Caribbean, for example.

As a corollary, may we mention that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has earmarked about \$80 million out of its \$425-million budget (less than 20 per cent of its current annual budget) for French-speaking countries? In addition, for reasons that would be too tedious to list — and are sometimes justifiable, sometimes debatable — this sum is far from being totally used.

What, then, are the criteria for allocating Canadian foreign aid? Certainly it is not exclusively apportioned in observance of the bicultural, indeed bi-national, requirements of Canada, which would call for a distribution of funds on a 50-50 basis, while taking into account the Third World countries that are neither French-speaking nor English-speaking; nor does the percentage correspond to the ratio between the numbers of persons belonging to our two ethnic groups, in which French Canada or Quebec represents from 29 to 32 per cent of the Canadian population. Undoubtedly these criteria are taken into consideration, but not exclusively. To this must be added historical, political and geographic factors inherent in Canada and in the other countries concerned, including the Commonwealth, which seems to us a choice example.

In this perspective, which seems quite valid to us, we arrive at the two following conclusions: either the distribution of aid to French-speaking countries, as previously described, does not meet the principles of equity and consequently demands rectification; or aid is being distributed equitably, and we realize with deep frustration that the international influence of French-speaking Canada is well below that to which its demographic and material potential entitles it. All the more reason to remind the authorities in Ottawa that they are wrong if they are satisfied with the present situation, and that it would be in the interests of all Canada if they would disprove the accusation made against Canada that it is neglecting the French-speaking communities inside and outside our country. For once they could show some initiative by taking the appropriate international measures to change the prevailing situation, deemed unacceptable by Canada's French-speaking subjects.

Since there is no French Commonwealth, we would suggest to these authorities that they avail themselves of the bilateral agreements with the French-speak-

ing countries concerned. In this regard, Haiti offers an excellent opportunity and is a good starting-point for such action, the more so since it matches geographically the English-speaking Caribbean already mentioned and opens up broad horizons for exchanges. We are aware of this country's difficulties and there is no point in dwelling on them. Any refusal to co-operate with it because of incompatible governmental systems or of administrative and political difficulties rests on invalid excuses and is tantamount to a crime against humanity or, at the very least, shows bad faith on the part of our leaders. There are exchanges at the present time, but they are due mainly to private efforts. Only the Government has adequate means to permit these exchanges to multiply in a lasting and far-reaching way. Given the Government's example, all kinds of private enterprises will follow the course it has set, as is now the case in the English-speaking Caribbean, to the greatest benefit of all concerned.

Finally, we should like to add that we are aware that Canada's total aid is also directed to developing countries that are not specifically identified with either of the cultural groups in Canada, although we do not know the amount; consequently, the amount earmarked for English-speaking countries remains undisclosed to us. Only, in the light of the foregoing observations, we remain sceptical about the spirit prevailing in the case of these Third World countries. It cannot be held against us if we give our imagination free rein and conclude that such aid must serve primarily the cultural, political and economic interests of the Anglo-Canadian people in particular and the community of English-speaking countries in general. Our "Canadian Embassy" and our "diplomats" bear witness to this fact.

Come on, now, gentlemen of the Government, do not proclaim victory on the heels of the most recent Canadian achievements in French-speaking Africa. Yes, there have been successes and we do appreciate it; but Canada is still far from attaining the kind of equity in the distribution of its foreign aid that would take into account the aspirations and interests of its two cultural communities. Note, too, that our country links up with the United States, Britain and Australia to assist the emerging English-speaking nations, whereas France is practically alone in assuming responsibility for the numerous French-speaking countries and is consequently not equal to the task.

We hope that these explanations will cast more light on Canadian foreign aid and that the shortcomings they disclose will be made up, and all necessary special attention and goodwill shown.

## **Aid Not So Badly Apportioned**

(Mr. Ouellet)

### **1. Criteria Governing Canadian Foreign Aid**

The allocation of the funds earmarked by Canada for international development must most certainly reflect the bicultural reality of our country. But the criteria

governing the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in this apportionment are not exclusively linguistic. Other factors come into play, such as:

- (a) the specific requests for aid to valid projects and programs;
- (b) the needs and degree of poverty in such countries, as well as their ability to assure their own social and economic development;
- (c) Canada's ability to meet a request and the availability of Canadian resources necessary for meeting such request;
- (d) Canada's interest in the region where the request originates, taking into account the fact that a reasonable concentration of funds in a limited number of developing countries will increase the effectiveness and impact of such funds and will cut down on administrative difficulties;
- (e) historical, socio-political and economic factors inherent in Canada.

As mentioned in the pamphlet *International Development of the Foreign Policy for Canadians* series: "Each of these principles has a substantial justification, but each leads to difficult anomalies if used as a sole criterion". Hence the criterion provided by the community of French-speaking countries — or national bilingualism — cannot be the only one in respect of aid to developing countries.

Mr. Turcotte is concerned about the fact that the proportion of aid allocated by Canada to French-speaking countries is less than the percentage of French-speaking people in Canada, which he establishes at between 29 and 32 per cent. It is true that Canadian aid to these countries is only about 20 per cent of Canadian aid to developing countries. Why? Mr. Turcotte himself offers a part of the answer: a number of Third World countries are neither English-speaking nor French-speaking and Canada, fortunately, has never limited its aid to countries whose language is that of one of its two official language groups. Language cannot, and must not, be the reason for government aid; it can be a criterion, but it must be only one among several. Thinking in mathematical terms would be disastrous to the French-speaking countries if the United States and England, to mention only two countries, suddenly were to decide that they would no longer grant aid to French-speaking countries on the pretext that their own population was exclusively English-speaking. And Latin America would receive aid only from Spain and Portugal! It should be further pointed out that, apart from French-speaking Africa, Madagascar, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Haiti, there are no developing countries whose culture is French. French-speaking developing countries do not make up 20 per cent of the developing countries, either in population or area. After all, we should not wish that there were more French-speaking developing countries just to reflect better Canadian duality! It can, therefore, readily be grasped that the distribution of aid to French-speaking countries does meet the standards of equity. In this case, Mr. Turcotte contends that "we realize with deep frustration that the international influence of French-speaking Canada is well below that to which its demographic and material potential entitles it". This contention is based on a false premise, that of thinking that the international influence of French-speaking Canada is limited to French-speaking



countries. A very large number of French-speaking Canadians are working in English-speaking and Spanish-speaking countries and in Asian countries, and there they are living proof of Canadian duality. Since Canada is becoming more widely identified abroad as a bicultural country, any Canadian presence abroad constitutes the "international influence" of French-speaking Canada, just as it constitutes the international influence of English-speaking Canada. It is a mistake that is very widespread to think that French-speaking Canada can make its presence known only in French-speaking countries. I say, on the contrary, that the possibilities for extending its influence are much greater in non-French-speaking countries, which, until recently, were unaware of the French "fact" in Canada, because in French-speaking countries French Canada is already very well known. In passing, I shall mention a reference to our "Canadian Embassy" and our "diplomats", and I must remind Mr. Turcotte that more than one-quarter of our Canadian missions abroad are headed by French-speaking personnel. It is interesting to note that Marcel Cadieux is posted to Washington, Yvon Beaulne to the United Nations and Léo Cadieux to Paris. Within a short time all our representatives abroad will be bilingual.

## **2. Haiti**

Mr. Turcotte, in referring to the French Caribbean and "*a fortiori* Haiti", points out the enormous lack of Canadian aid to this area of the world. It should be mentioned that Guadeloupe and Martinique, which, with Haiti, form the French Caribbean, belong to France and are under the exclusive authority of the French Government. Haiti is the only independent French-speaking country in this sector of the globe. Canada is, therefore, not neglecting the French Caribbean "area"; it is neglecting (where bilateral aid is concerned) a French-speaking country, Haiti, just as it is neglecting several English-speaking Caribbean countries or several Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America. And Haiti, like these other countries, will eventually receive Canadian aid. If the Republic of Haiti were a member of the Agency for Technical and Cultural Co-operation, which groups together a large number of French-speaking countries, or if it were geographically part of a French-speaking region, or if it were a part of the Commonwealth Caribbean, it is quite likely that it would now be receiving direct Canadian aid. But, through a quirk of history, the Republic of Haiti is politically and geographically outside any agency in which Canada participates. To claim that, because the Republic of Haiti is French-speaking, the Federal Government will give it aid only after Quebec brings pressure to bear is to know nothing about the development of the Canadian system of foreign aid, and to impute a non-existent political flavour to purely technical reasons.

It is, furthermore, incorrect to say that Haiti receives no Canadian aid. Granted, Haiti is not now receiving bilateral aid, i.e. aid which Canada gives directly to the recipient country after agreement with the authorities of the said country. But the fact that CIDA does not have a program with the Haitian Gov-

ernment does not mean that Canada excludes Haiti from its recipient countries. Quite the contrary — several Canadian non-governmental organizations receive substantial assistance in order to implement their own programs in Haiti. More than \$310,000 has been paid by Canada in the past three years to organizations working in that country. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that these developing countries, including Haiti, are receiving contributions from multilateral development agencies to which Canada allocates 25 per cent of its foreign aid budget. For example, this year Canada will lend more than \$16 million to the United Nations Development Program, in which Latin American countries, including Haiti, may participate. This multilateral aid does not, perhaps, receive the same publicity as bilateral aid, but it nonetheless does exist and is just as important.

### **3. Aid to French-speaking Africa**

Mr. Turcotte contends that Canada's attempt to "make up for lost time" in French-speaking Africa confirms his theory that the Canadian Government acts only when Canada's unity is threatened. This contention does not take two important factors into account: first, the recent arrival on the international scene of independent French-speaking African countries and, second, the recent awareness of Canadian duality. Before 1960, Canada had no contact with the French-speaking colonies in Africa. They were as new to us as we were to them. We had to start from scratch. On the other hand, the former English-speaking colonies discovered more quickly, through the Commonwealth, that Canada was in a position where it could possibly come to their aid. The cultural ties were more apparent. Needs were more readily known. The Commonwealth was an institution which made it possible to better channel the first faltering attempts at Canadian aid to the Third World. It was not until after the Niamey Conference in 1969, which established the interdependence of the countries in the French-speaking community, that Canada really took its place in the French-speaking community. Already in 1969, Canada had started giving aid to French-speaking Africa; this aid has continued to increase since then. It does not try to find its justification in the recent awareness of Canadian duality; on the contrary, it finds its support in it. The Sixties, which saw the emergence of a world-wide feeling of unity in the French-speaking community, also saw the emergence of the realization of the French "fact" in Canada. An awareness of the French "fact" in the world occurred at the same as an awareness of it in Canada. It was, therefore, normal that Canada should find a vocation in the developing French-speaking countries. It is, wrong, therefore, to say that Canada is helping French-speaking Africa in order to appease Quebec; rather, it should be said that Canada is helping French-speaking Africa because it has observed that it has a role to play in the community of French-speaking countries. I do not deny that there is a need to "make up for lost time". But I do say that Canada has to make up such lost time because there was no way it could realize sooner the role it could play within the community of French-speaking countries, and because it would be

childish to deny that it was only very recently that Canadians have become aware of Canadian duality.

Mr. Turcotte reproaches us for proclaiming victory after the recent Canadian achievements in French-speaking Africa. I believe, on the contrary, that there are cases where the first step constitutes a victory, and it is that first step we are celebrating, because it will not be the last.

I thought it advisable to comment on certain passages of Mr. Turcotte's letter; I hope that, like him, I have been able to cast more light on Canadian foreign aid and I hope, as he does, that the shortcomings will be made up as soon as possible. A policy on aid to developing countries is not formulated in a day. I thank Mr. Turcotte for having realized that our system was not perfect and for having initiated a highly constructive dialogue from which the developing countries will be the first to benefit.



## *Meeting of Officials and University Representatives*

IN connection with its policy regarding relations with universities offering programs on international affairs, the Department of External Affairs invited some 40 professors and members of groups concerned with international relations and foreign policy to a conference in Ottawa on May 13 and 14. Representatives from about 25 universities and associations were present. Apart from the Minister and his Parliamentary Secretary, an estimated 30 senior officials at one time or another attended the various sessions of the conference. Many topics of foreign policy were reviewed, including the decision-making process as illustrated by the methods used in preparing the publication *Foreign Policy for Canadians*. One session was devoted to evaluating the Department's relations with universities. Those attending the conference appeared to be satisfied with the present system, to judge from the favourable comments received when it was over.

This meeting offered more than just an opportunity for officials and university representatives to exchange views and clarify some questions of foreign policy. It also allowed them to get to know one another better and encouraged the development of informal exchanges between the university community and the Department, which have too often been lacking in the past. The Department and most of the participants appear to agree that the meeting was a success so far as both these objectives were concerned. A significant step seems to have been made towards encouraging co-operation between university professors and senior officials and enabling the former to help in their own way with the preparation of Canada's foreign policy.

During the first session, held on the evening of May 13, which was followed by a debate on the decision-making process in foreign policy, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, addressed the audience in the following terms:

"It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to this two-day meeting of consultation. The last three years have seen a real renewal of contact between the academic community and the Department of External Affairs, a development of the greatest importance. It has come about in the best possible way, as a result of growing interest on the part of the academic community matched by a growing realization by my officers of the need for more structured consultations.

"Both the academic community and the Department have expanded greatly in the last 20 years. Those of you who have been around for a while can look back on a time when academics interested in foreign policy and the officers of the Department together made up a fairly small group whose members, to a great extent, knew each other and enjoyed an informal and effective relationship without feeling the need for formal consultations.

"Today, to meet the growing extent and complexity of our foreign operations, the Department has had to expand to a point where one cannot always assume that even reasonably senior officers know each other well. The club-like, or common-room, quality of the Department that used to give it much of its special character has necessarily been lost. I think it is only fair to say that we may have been guilty of trying to hang on too long to this cherished atmosphere, for reasons that I am sure you will readily understand since your own institutions as they have grown in size must have gone through the same experience.

"The further we got into the review process that led to the publication of the foreign policy papers, the more we realized the need for more systematic consideration and more orderly formulation of foreign policy. This experience brought home to us what we had begun to suspect — that it was no longer possible for Canada's foreign minister to sit with his senior advisers in a quiet room in the East Block and determine Canada's foreign policy. I'm not suggesting that this was a 'Road to Damascus' experience, a sudden enlightenment. What happened was not so much a dramatic change in our way of thinking as a final acceptance that our way of thinking had been undergoing a process of profound change.

"I have already suggested that this change was a function of growing size and complexity. It was also a result of a clear-cut Government decision of the greatest significance — that Canadian foreign policy should be based upon clearly-defined national aims and should serve Canadian interests, seek opportunities for the employment of Canadian resources and capacities and take into account the particular aspirations of the Canadian people.

"To understand the special significance of this decision it is necessary to recall that, in the postwar period, Canada's foreign policy grew out of memberships and what we called special relationships—memberships in the Commonwealth, the United Nations and NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), special relationships with Washington, London, and, to a lesser extent, Paris. I don't need to labour this point for this audience. The Commonwealth has changed in its very nature, not necessarily for the worse; the United Nations, though continuing to carry out vital functions, has also changed radically and has failed to meet the great hopes of its founders. NATO has turned out to be a military allegiance; the hopes expressed in Article 2, included at Canada's insistence, have not been fulfilled.

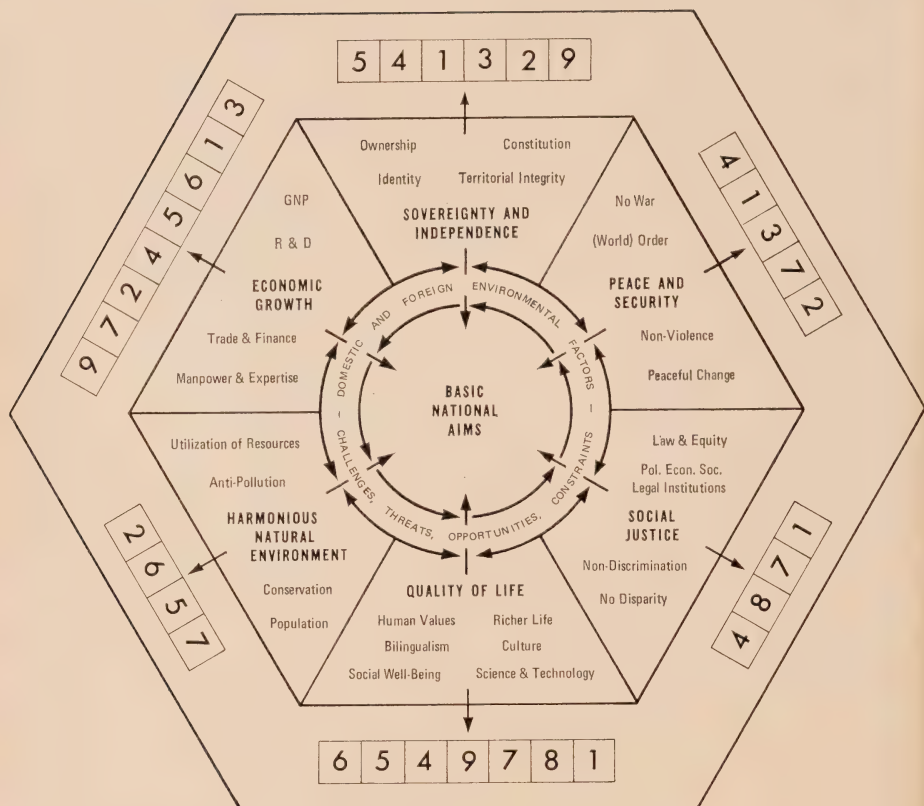
"The Commonwealth, the United Nations and NATO continue to have Canada's support, and our relations with Washington, London and Paris have not lost any of their importance for us. But we now have an independentist, Canada-centred foreign policy that is positive rather than reactive in its nature.

"To elaborate and set in motion a "Foreign Policy for Canadians",<sup>(1)</sup> as I have said, we had to make a series of conscious decisions. What are the national aims? How should they be pursued in the international context? Questions like

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<sup>(1)</sup> This is the collective title for the six pamphlets published last year as a statement of the results of the Government's review of Canadian foreign policy.

# GOVERNMENT'S EXTERNAL FUNCTIONS



## NOTE:

1. In each segment the "key words" in small print indicate the kind of policy questions that may arise, though not always under the same theme necessarily.
2. The straight arrows indicate the relationship between basic national aims and external functions. The one-way arrows in the inner circle indicate the ever-changing environmental factors; the two-way arrows in the outer circle signify the interrelationships among the policy themes.



## Sovereignty and Security

1

*Canadian Presence and Authority Abroad:* includes Ministerial and other official visits, delegations; resident representatives abroad, regional specialists, multiple accreditations.

2

*Communication, Consultation, Negotiations with other Governments:* includes formal representations and informal approaches, press releases, protests, communiqués; treaty-making, joint declarations.

3

*Defence, Protection and Control at Home and Abroad:* includes alliances; military and civilian facilities in Canada for surveillance and control; protection of citizens and their property abroad.

## Economics and Technology

4

*Development of Canada's Economy Abroad:* includes expansion of trade; prosperity of world economy; balance of payments, tariff agreements; investments, loans, taxation, interest rates.

5

*Management of Resources, Energies and Manpower Abroad:* includes distribution and marketing of natural resources, energies; immigration and manpower programmes.

6

*Advancement of Science and Technologies:* includes research and development; improved transportation, communications, automation and other industrial methods.

## Society and Culture

7

*Participation in Multilateral Organizations:* includes United Nations family, Commonwealth, la Francophonie and others, but excluding aid agencies; to promote international law, standards, codes of conduct, peaceful methods and world order generally.

8

*Co-operation for Development Assistance:* includes bilateral and multilateral programmes; international organizations and consortia for development purposes.

9

*Socio-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges:* includes private and official programmes in wide variety of fields — art, culture, education, science, sports, tourism.

these led to our first tentative conclusion — that foreign policy is the extension of domestic policy in the international community. A country that is an open society cannot have one policy at home and another abroad.

\* \* \*

“To devise a decision-making process in foreign policy we had to define national aims and establish themes for the pursuit of Canadian interests. Seen graphically, with national aims at the centre and policy themes surrounding them, you have the basic structure of the famous hexagon,<sup>(1)</sup> a tool for the systematic consideration and orderly formulation of foreign policy — a tool, in other words, for decision-making.

“The decisions and policy forecasts contained in the sector papers were tested in every case against the framework. This is a three-part process. Any course of action must first be identified as being in pursuit of the national aims. It must then be examined in the light of the six policy themes. It is at this point that choices must be made. A policy that would further economic growth might endanger the harmonious natural environment, might bear upon the quality of life; it might even bring up questions of sovereignty if, for instance, it involved operations of an international company. The third test is of effectiveness and suitability in the international community, where the interests of nations necessarily compete and often conflict and where freedom of action is more limited than in a purely domestic context. The hexagon identifies the considerations in this area as the challenges, constraints and opportunities Canada faces in pursuing its national aims abroad.

“The policy framework continues to be a useful tool. As Canadian foreign policy unfolds and as the Department applies the unfolding policy to particular situations, the three tests I have outlined are applied.

“We do not and cannot control the international community and our policy is affected as much or more by the actions of others as it is by our own. When Canada saw itself primarily as a member of certain international bodies with a set of special relationships, the tendency was to react in a wholly predictable manner to outside events. Now that we have chosen to look at foreign policy in terms of Canadian national aims, we respond, and our response is based primarily on the furtherance of our constant national aims.

“This changed approach has not dramatically altered our foreign policy, and no one should expect it to do so. As years pass the more systematic consideration and more orderly formulation of our foreign policy will enable us to use to the greatest extent whatever opportunities for independence we can hold on to in an increasingly interdependent world . . . .”

<sup>(1)</sup> See Pp. 306-7.

## *Mr. Chrétien Visits New Zealand and Australia*

THE Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and Mrs. Chrétien, accompanied by five Members of Parliament, Mr. George Manuel, President of the National Indian Brotherhood, and a number of senior officials <sup>(1)</sup> visited Wellington and Auckland in New Zealand and Canberra, Sydney, Darwin and other areas of the Northern Territory in Australia from March 26 to April 11.

At a press conference before his departure for New Zealand and Australia, Mr. Chrétien said:

I am hopeful that our studies of government programs and the manner in which a viable social and economic system has been co-operatively devised will assist us and our native people to achieve an equally satisfactory arrangement — although perhaps not precisely along the same lines.

In New Zealand, where the party spent from March 29 to April 2, discussions centred mainly on Maori integration and New Zealand's plans for helping the Maori population — a matter of special interest to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Mr. Chrétien had the opportunity in Wellington, on March 29 and 30, to meet the New Zealand Prime Minister, Sir Keith Holyoake, and members of his Cabinet, including the Honourable D. MacIntyre, Minister of Maori and Island Affairs. Common problems and achievements were discussed with Mr. MacIntyre and his officials to the mutual advantage of both parties.

On March 31, Mr. Chrétien visited the Taupo/Rotorua area, the major Maori cultural centre and Maori land-development location. A traditional Maori welcome was extended to Mr. and Mrs. Chrétien at a reception by the Mayor of Rotorua, who is also the chairman of the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute. At this reception, Mr. Manuel donned buckskin robes and a feather head-dress and to everyone's delight performed several Indian dances and chants. Mr. Chrétien presented the museum with an Indian carving, which will be placed with other artifacts in the Canadian section.

Before leaving New Zealand, the Canadians spent a day in Auckland, where they inspected the Maori Trade Training Courses and saw the fine collection of Maori craft at the Auckland museum.

In Australia, the tropical heat of whose Northern Territory contrasts markedly with the Arctic climate of Canada's Yukon and Northwest Territories, the

<sup>(1)</sup> *Canadian party:* Mr. and Mrs. Chrétien; Mr. J. B. Bergevin, Assistant Deputy Minister, Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Mr. D. A. Davidson, Acting Director of the Territorial Affairs Branch, Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Mr. Manuel; Mr. Frank Howard, M.P.; Mr. L. Marchand, M.P.; Mr. Erik Nielson, M.P.; Mr. R. J. Orange, M.P.; Mr. Ian Watson, M.P.; Chairman of the Commons Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Mr. James Smith, Commissioner of the Yukon Territory; Dr. J. H. Wiebe, Director-General, Medical Services Branch, Department of National Health and Welfare; Mr. William Mussell, Special Assistant to Mr. Chrétien. In New Zealand the party was accompanied by the Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand, Mr. J. A. Dougan, and in Australia by Mr. A. R. Menzies, the Canadian High Commissioner to Australia.





*The Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, exchanges traditional friendly greetings, Maori style, with the representative of a Maori group during a reception at the residence of the High Commissioner for Canada in Wellington, New Zealand.*

party, which was there from April 2 to 9, found that many direct comparisons could be made — in constitutional status, in mining development and in the advancement of native peoples.

In Canberra, Mr. Chrétien had discussions with the Honourable Ralph Hunt, Minister for the Interior, who is responsible for the Northern Territory, and the Honourable William Wentworth, Minister of State for Social Services and Minister in Charge of Aboriginal Affairs. He learned that the constitutional status of aborigines in Australia differed somewhat from that of Indians and Eskimos in Canada, who are a responsibility of the Federal Government under the British North America Act. In Australia, responsibility for aborigines rested with the states, except in the federally-administered Northern Territory, until a constitutional amendment was passed in 1966 giving concurrent and, if necessary, overriding power to the Federal Government. The Council for Aboriginal Affairs and the Office of Aboriginal Affairs, which report to Mr. Wentworth, are responsible for developing broad policies for aborigines, endeavouring to secure uniform non-discriminatory treatment of aborigines in the states and providing additional financial assistance in scholarships, encouragement for aboriginal arts and loans for aboriginal enterprises.



*George Manuel, President of the National Indian Brotherhood, wearing a traditional head-dress, explains the "talking stick" to aboriginal dancers at Maningrida, Australia.*

Arriving in Darwin, the capital of the 520,000-square-mile Northern Territory, on April 4, the visitors were met by the Administrator, His Honour Fred Chaney, D.F.C., who was to be their host during the tour of the Northern Territory. A visit to the Legislative Council for the Northern Territory permitted comparisons to be drawn with the powers and procedures of the Yukon and Northwest Territories Councils. There are 11 elected and six official members of the Legislative Council, whose responsibility is to make ordinances for the peace, order and good government of the Northern Territory, subject to review by the Administrator and the Governor General on behalf of the Federal Government. All questions relating to land and aborigines must be referred to Canberra. The elected members of the Legislative Council are not satisfied with a purely legislative role and, in pressing for more state-type powers of self-govern-



ment, wish to have a say on financial matters. Expenditures on state-type matters cost \$82 million in 1969-70, whereas only \$12 million was raised in the Territory.

On April 6, the party flew to Maningrida Aboriginal Settlement on the coast, 230 miles east of Darwin. Here they were met by the Superintendent and elected Councillors, who serve in an advisory role and represent the 1,300 aborigines of the Settlement. A concert was given in the school-yard with songs by the children and aboriginal dances by school boys, and a group of men in *corroboree* body-paint and decorations performed the "butterfly dance", accompanied by sonorous music. Mr. George Manuel then put on his blue feather head-dress, took out his "talking stick" and entertained the aborigines with Indian songs and dances.

One hundred and seventy-five miles east of Maningrida the party stopped for the night at Gove, where Nabalco Pty. Ltd., a consortium of Swiss and Australian interests, is spending \$300 million to develop a bauxite mine that will export two million tons of bauxite a year and an alumina plant with a capacity of one million tons. A large work force is employed at this remote site, which must be supplied by sea or air, as there are no connecting roads. A modern townsite is being built for an initial population of 5,000.

The Canadians also visited the nearby Methodist mission settlement, where some 600 members of the Yirrkala aboriginal tribes live. These tribes had lodged a claim in the High Court of the Northern Territory for recognition of their title over the land on which the Nabalco bauxite and alumina project is being built. No treaties were signed with the aborigines during the settlement of Australia and no aboriginal claims to land-ownership have been recognized yet. In conversation with the Canadian visitors, the Yirrkala Councillors showed an interest in Canadian practice regarding Indian land-titles. The elders also indicated their uneasiness over the extent to which this industrial project would affect their traditional ways. The Canadian party was able to see at first hand the problems arising from the advent of modern technological society in what had hitherto been the remote and inaccessible Arnhemland Aboriginal Reserve.

Although aboriginal land-rights have not been legally recognized, the Northern Territory Administration has taken a number of practical measures to assist aborigines. Half of the 2½ percent mining royalty is paid into an Aboriginal Benefits Trust Fund administered by an Aboriginal Board and used for their own economic and social development projects. A condition of mining leases on reserves is that 25 per cent of employment should be offered to aborigines. There are joint ventures giving aborigines an equity interest in mining exploration projects.

The Canadian party made its last stop at Groote Eylandt, an island in the Gulf of Carpentaria, where they saw a manganese mine and a prawn-freezing factory. Here, too, they visited the Angurugu Aboriginal Mission, where members took a special interest in the pre-school classes for 3- to 5-year-old aboriginal children. Guided play helps the pre-school child to become familiar with shapes



and techniques that are not part of the aboriginal way of life but about which the Western school system assumes knowledge.

In all three aboriginal settlements the Canadian party saw such native art as bark paintings, wood carving and basketwork, and they left with an appreciation of the cultural traditions the aborigines wished to preserve. They had been made aware of the continuing tasks facing the Northern Territory Administration in integrating aborigines into the Western economy and society while preserving their cultural identity.

## *Science and Technology Agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany*

ON April 16 of this year, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and Mr. Walter Scheel, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, signed an agreement encouraging closer co-operation by the two countries in science and technology. Canada is now a party to three such agreements, others of a similar nature having been concluded with Belgium and the Soviet Union. These initiatives are designed to extend the range of Canada's international relations in science and technology to include countries in addition to those with which it has been closely and traditionally associated. It is expected that, through the exchanges taking place under these agreements, substantial benefits will be generated for the Canadian scientific and industrial communities.



*Canada's Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Mr. Jean-Luc Pepin (left), and Mr. Walter Scheel, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, sign an agreement on co-operation in science and technology.*

The science and technology agreement with the Federal Republic is essentially a declaration by the two governments of their wish to broaden the scope and increase the number of substantial activities undertaken jointly by them in a field both recognize as constituting an increasingly important dimension of international relations. The agreement is designed to foster intensification of co-operation in research and development between the public and private sectors of the two countries. It provides for representatives of the two governments to consult annually, or as often as is considered necessary, to assess the progress made and to set new initiatives in motion. This consultative procedure is regarded by both sides as a valuable means of ensuring that the agreement will produce concrete results and function in a harmonious way.

More specific agreements in science and technology have been concluded with the Federal Republic of Germany in recent years. In 1957 an agreement was signed providing for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In 1964 a memorandum of understanding for the exchange of information in defence science came into force. In 1969 an agreement on the use by the Germans of the Churchill Rocket Range was concluded. It was during the discussions preceding last-mentioned agreement that the possibility of concluding a general science and technology agreement was first discussed. In 1969, during the visit to Canada of Mr. Brandt, it was agreed that experts should meet to determine the feasibility of such an agreement by examining possible areas of co-operation. During his return visit to Bonn in 1970, Mr. Sharp indicated Canadian willingness to proceed with the groundwork by despatching an exploratory mission to Germany.

In March of this year, after extensive preparation, a mission of Canadian industrialist and scientists, led by the Senior Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Mr. A. G. Kniewasser, visited the Federal Republic. Composed of nine representatives of government departments, 12 industrialists and one university professor, the mission separated into small groups and fanned out across the country, visiting industries, research institutes, universities and government departments to discuss with the principal individuals concerned the possibilities for increased collaboration in research and development. As a result of these contacts, it was determined that the information sciences, environmental sciences and construction industry appeared to hold out particular promise. The German Government has subsequently indicated that it wishes to send a similar mission to Canada. The fund of information on the capabilities and needs of the two countries thus created will be invaluable in the successful implementation of the science and technology agreement.



# *Training in the Department of External Affairs*

SIXTEEN officers climbing a 40-foot ladder out of an ice cellar in the Canadian Arctic; a girl sorting various kinds of envelope in an Ottawa classroom under the supervision of an experienced secretary; an officer based in Hong Kong trying to get his tongue round Chinese vowels; and an employee sporting a head-set in his Ottawa home and enthusiastically addressing a cassette tape-recorder — one might well ask what all these people are doing. The answer is that they are undergoing training: the young men on the ladder are part of a cross-Canada familiarization tour for officers about to be posted abroad; the typist is a new member of the Department who is being exposed to some of its particular communication techniques; the officer in Hong Kong is following a full-time language course in Chinese; and the employee wearing headphones is following a programmed course in French.

## **A Developing Program**

All these activities are part of a new and developing training program for the staff of External Affairs. The Department, like most other complex organizations, has found that, in order to develop and maintain the requisite occupational, management and administrative skills, an active program of training and development is necessary. In 1970, a Training and Development Committee was created under the chairmanship of the Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. The membership represents the interests of all occupational groups and of the management of the Department. It meets as often as necessary to identify and discuss training needs and to advise the Training and Development Staff on training policies and priorities. Through the Committee, the involvement and support both of "line-managers" and of representatives of occupational groups is obtained. In addition to the work of the Training Committee, a number of studies relating to training have been conducted recently that have had a major impact on subsequent training activity. These studies have been conducted along occupational lines. In the case of the major study relating to foreign-service stenographers and the study on the career-development needs of departmental clerks, invaluable assistance and advice was provided by members of those occupational groups. This assistance will continue to be called on as the various recommendations of the studies are implemented. To meet the requirements of a department that has a rotational staff and operates in almost 100 posts around the world, training programs must, for the most part, be designed specifically for the organization, as outside training resources are inadequate for many of its requirements. An examination of certain programs involving substantial expenditures of resources will reveal some of the special training requirements in the Department.

Language training for employees has been and continues to be expanded and related more closely to the needs of the organization. This training falls into two categories: Canadian official languages and foreign languages. In 1970, 534 employees undertook language training in one or the other of these categories. The periods involved ranged from part-time attendance on a course of several weeks duration to full-time attendance for two and a half years on a course in one of the more difficult languages, such as Chinese. In order to meet the Federal Government requirements for Canadian language training and the operational requirements in various posts, Canadian and foreign language training is being expanded in 1971-72. Recently, officers from the Personnel Bureau conducted an intensive study of Spanish language-training facilities in Latin America. This study will result in a new policy on Spanish language training, as well as new approaches to the study of that language.

External Affairs, like all other departments of the Government, has found it necessary to improve its administrative and management capabilities. Administrative training is at present carried on mainly either through Public Service Commission or departmental courses. Public Service Commission courses meet general needs, while departmental courses are geared to very specific departmental methods and procedures. The Department has also begun a program of sending managers of middle-to-senior ranks to six-week courses in advanced management sponsored by a number of Canadian universities. Increased emphasis will be placed on the training of departmental managers at all levels.

### **Special Programs**

An example of the training programs developed specifically for departmental occupational groups is the Foreign Service Officer Entrant Level Training Program, which is being conducted for the first time in 1971. This is a flexible program, with two fundamental objects: the proper training of new foreign service officers and the accomplishment of necessary departmental work. These two aims are met through a combination of classroom training and on-the-job assignments. Assignments of the latter sort are approximately six months long, uninterrupted; they are separated by classroom training. Classroom courses consist of: induction training (introducing new employees to the immediate job environment); orientation training (an induction to the international interests of other governments and agencies); management and administrative training; subject-matter training (the skills relating to observation, analysis, reporting, negotiating, etc.), and language training.

The Department is continuing its practice of seconding personnel to universities and training institutions. This year officers have attended the University of Laval and the University of Toronto as part of the Department's University Visitors Program. These officers, while representing the Department of External Affairs "on campus", were available as "resources" to the universities and had the opportunity to follow regular courses. Officers of the Department also attended the

National Defence College, the Imperial Defence College, the Ecole nationale d'Administration, and the Career Assignment Program. Policies and plans are at present being developed for a new education program, which will involve sending selected employees to universities for first or higher degrees.

The Department is increasing its practice of providing financial support to those employees who are following evening or correspondence courses related to their job requirements. Approximately 125 employees have this year availed themselves of the support offered by the Department.

It is the aim of the Training and Development Committee and of the members of the Training and Development Section to have the Department of External Affairs promulgate policies that are consistent with current requirements of a complex government organization and to ensure that it employs modern training techniques and knowledge to equip the members of the staff to do their work efficiently.



## *UN Trainees Visit Ottawa*

THE United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) was established by the UN General Assembly in 1963 and began operations in 1965. It has as its broad aim the training of persons, particularly from developing countries, for work in the international sphere. Emphasis is placed on junior and middle-level personnel from national regular and foreign services, although personnel from all levels are welcomed. The Institute is also involved in research and study of a broad range of problems concerning the United Nations organization and international affairs. It has undertaken studies on topics as diverse as the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the "brain drain" experienced by so many developing countries.

In 1971, the Department of External Affairs again assisted UNITAR in the training of junior foreign service personnel from developing countries, having previously done so in 1969. The Department was asked to receive five graduates of UNITAR's basic training program in diplomacy, held in Dakar, Senegal.

The trainees, who came originally from Ceylon, Kenya, Malaysia, Nepal and Nigeria, arrived in Ottawa on June 10 after three months of training in Dakar. Their program in Ottawa consisted of calls on various bureaux of the Department of External Affairs, as well as other government departments having foreign operations. The intent of these visits was to complement theoretical knowledge with practical application by means of contact with officers whose work not only covered a broad range of administrative, functional and geographic responsibilities but also closely paralleled the subject matter under study in Dakar. Thus the trainees had an opportunity to talk to officers of the UN Bureau on such topics as administrative, financial and personnel questions in the United Nations and, more particularly, the role one division of the Department plays in co-ordinating the position of other divisions and departments in their relations with UN agencies. During visits to the Canadian International Development Agency, the Trade Commissioner Service and the Department of Manpower and Immigration, the trainees met experts in fields of special interest to them and saw how these agencies conducted their affairs within the general framework of Canadian foreign policy.

In the light of the demands placed on the trainees during their three months in Senegal, their meetings in Ottawa were kept as informal as possible while remaining informative. A tour of the city was arranged and included a visit to Parliament, then examining aspects of Canada's foreign relations in Asia.

The trainees left Ottawa on July 6, returning to New York for de-briefing by UNITAR officials before returning to their homelands after a four-month absence.

## RENDEZ-VOUS CANADA



*This portable exhibit on four Canadian themes — the land, industry, urban living, and the arts — has been shown in London during a three-week stay in July under the sponsorship of the Canadian High Commission. It was opened by Sir Charles Trinder, G.B.E., Alderman and former Lord Mayor of the City of London. The four display areas were covered by a geodesic dome which was set up in Paternoster Square beside St. Paul's Cathedral. This exhibit had previously been shown in France and Belgium, and will be in Birmingham late in August and in Zurich in October. Rendez-Vous Canada was designed for the Department of External Affairs by Information Canada/Expositions.*

## CONFERENCES

International Federation for Information Processing, fifth congress: Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, August 23-28

Fourth United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, September 6-16

Japan-Canada Ministerial Committee Meeting: Toronto, September 13-14

Canada-Tunisia Joint Commission: Tunis, September 20-22

Commonwealth Finance Ministers Meeting: Nassau, September 23-24

Fifteenth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency: Vienna, September 23-30

Third Commonwealth Medical Conference: Port Louis, Mauritius, November 2-12



## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Mr. A. F. Hart, Commissioner, posted from Saigon to Ottawa, effective May 31, 1971.
- Mr. R. O. MacNab appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Mr. B. L. Barnett appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Miss M. H. Cornish appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Mr. D. M. Dhavernas appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Mr. R. W. H. Jones appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Mr. H. J. Moeser appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Mr. N. H. Riddell appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Mr. M. H. Hebert posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to the Canadian Embassy, Vienna, effective June 1, 1971.
- Miss J. Thornton posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to the Canadian Embassy, Yaoundé, effective June 2, 1971.
- Mr. A. L. Graham posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to Ottawa, effective June 3, 1971.
- Mr. A. Morin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective June 4, 1971.
- Mr. D. W. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective June 4, 1971.
- Mr. D. C. Reece posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective June 5, 1971.
- Miss I. M. Hall posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective June 7, 1971.
- Mr. S. E. Riethman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian High Commission, Kuala Lumpur, effective June 9, 1971.
- Mr. R. E. Collins, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, appointed Canadian Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, effective June 10, 1971.
- Mr. L. J. Edwards posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam, Saigon, effective June 11, 1971.
- Mr. J. P. A. Seguin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Beirut, effective June 12, 1971.
- Miss P. A. Dunn appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1971.
- Miss M. C. McCann posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bangkok, to Ottawa, effective June 14, 1971.
- Miss L. M. McIntosh posted from the Canadian High Commission, Kuala Lumpur, to Ottawa, effective June 15, 1971.

- Mr. R. J. Edington posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bogotá, effective June 17, 1971.
- Mr. J. R. Fournier posted from the Canadian Embassy, Kinshasa, to Ottawa, effective June 17, 1971.
- Mr. G. L. Haynal posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Lima, effective June 19, 1971.
- Mr. L. V. J. Ryan posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective June 19, 1971.
- Mr. J. S. Hibbard posted from the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, to Ottawa, effective June 21, 1971.
- Mr. W. Dymond posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the Office of the United Nations and to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, Geneva, effective June 24, 1971.
- Mr. P. A. Beckett posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to the Canadian Embassy, Addis Ababa, effective June 24, 1971.
- Mr. R. V. Gorham assigned from the Bicultural Development Program, Quebec City, to Ottawa, effective June 25, 1971.
- Mr. E. A. Skrabec posted from Ottawa to the Canadian High Commission, Colombo, effective June 26, 1971.
- Mr. H. K. Spence posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective June 26, 1971.
- Miss P. R. Cordingley posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective June 27, 1971.
- Mr. F. D. Martens posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective June 27, 1971.
- Mr. G. R. J. Gingras posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Abidjan, on secondment to the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, effective June 30, 1971.





# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Canada Assesses the New U.S. Economic Measures*

*On August 15, 1971, President Richard M. Nixon announced a number of economic measures, including a 10 percent surcharge on imports into the United States. On August 20, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau commented as follows on the President's announcement:*

The economic policies announced last weekend by President Nixon are very complex; their full impact both in the United States and in many other countries will not be known for some time. There is little mystery, however, about the effect on Canada of one of the policies — the 10 percent import surcharge. If nothing is done to remove or prevent the impact of that surcharge, if it is given full effect, it will cause the loss of many thousands of Canadian jobs.

That is a rough blow to this country. It was to ensure that the United States Government was aware of just how rough that Mr. Benson and Mr. Pepin went to Washington yesterday. They did not go to seek favours — still less, to make concessions. They went to make clear to the United States Government that there was no justification for what it was doing to Canada. Secretary Connally agreed to give our arguments careful consideration, and we are now awaiting a reply.

Canada, of course, is not the only country that is affected by this particular policy. For that reason we welcome the consultations that will be taking place with other trading nations who share membership with us in the associations which exist for that purpose (the International Monetary Fund, GATT and the Group of Ten) to see what can be done to achieve the improved international trade and financial arrangements which the U.S. is seeking.

Canada does not take issue with the decision of the United States to grapple with its economic problems. Several of those problems are familiar to us. It is of no less importance to Canada than to the United States that both inflation and unemployment be attacked with vigour. Our message to the United States Government is quite simple: We understand your problem; we sympathize wholeheartedly with your goal of a healthy economy; we suggest only that the application of your surcharge to Canadian exports contributes in no way to the attainment of that goal. A weak Canadian economy is no help to the United States. Unemployed Canadians cannot afford to buy U.S. goods. At the present time, as for several years, U.S. exports to Canada are comparable to the combined total of all American sales to Japan, Germany, Britain and France; we buy about one-quarter of all U.S. exports. Without our market, the U.S. economy would be in much more serious difficulties than it now finds itself.

Canadians enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world. We do so because of our success as a trading nation. Were we not such strong traders

— on a *per capita* basis, the biggest in the world — our standard of living would be a fraction of what it now is. One quarter of our gross national product comes from external trade. We cannot, of course, sit mutely and absorb the impact of this United States surcharge, which, if it continues in effect against Canada, will hurt us more than any other country. But neither is it in our interest to retaliate and set in motion the destructive spiral of an international trade war. Everyone would be a loser in those circumstances.

Our policy, then, is to take all steps to damp elsewhere in the world talk of such a self-defeating practice and to press the United States Government to re-examine the surcharge as it applies to us. The United States Government has made no complaint to Canada about artificial exchange-rates. Nor has it raised with us more than minor matters in respect to Canada's trade practice. There is no justification, therefore, for applying penalties to Canadian trade.

We wish the United States every success in restoring its economy to health. We ask, however, that, in meeting unfair practices on the part of other countries, it not itself be unfair. I am confident that President Nixon intended no unfairness and that this problem will be resolved in the spirit of friendship which characterizes all relations between our two countries.

*The Council of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) convened on August 24 and 25 to consider the U.S. economic measures. The Canadian delegation issued at that time a statement of the Canadian position on the surcharge and other measures promulgated by Mr. Nixon:*

This is the most critical situation facing the Contracting Parties of the GATT in recent years, not only because the measures before us are extreme and far-reaching in their effect on world trade but because of the major trade importance of the country which is implementing them. This is not a routine case, and has no precedent in previous cases that have come before the Contracting Parties. The U.S. has been facing a unique situation which no doubt demands unique solutions. It is in this light, and not in any narrow legalistic sense, that this matter must be seen.

Canada is aware of and fully sympathetic to the serious difficulties faced by the U.S. We too attach great importance to reaching early agreement on improvements in the international monetary system and, more immediately, on the prompt rectification of current unrealistic exchange-rates. Canada has also noted the various domestic measures taken by the U.S. and the U.S. view that these measures will result in an early strengthening and expansion of the U.S. economy. We are hopeful that this will be the case, as the whole trading world stands to benefit from such strengthening, which is indeed a prerequisite to further progress in the liberalization and expansion of world trade. However, we are not convinced that restrictive trade measures are an appropriate way of dealing with the problem. Such measures should be condoned under GATT only when the trade imbalance is the major factor in overall balance-of-payments difficulties.



The particular trade measures before the Contracting Parties have far-reaching impact on world trade and could, if not quickly removed, jeopardize the multilateral system of trade and payments built up since the war. This system has been of the greatest benefit to all countries and the U.S. itself, through its positive leadership over the years, has in fact been greatly instrumental in its creation.

### **Canada Suffers Most**

The impact of these trade measures on Canada is more severe than on any other country, having in mind that the U.S. market represents some 70 per cent of total Canadian exports, that close to \$2.5 billion of goods, representing a very high proportion of our total world exports of manufactured goods, would be directly affected. This impact falls on those very sectors of manufactured and processed goods which are crucial to employment and to a viable Canadian economy, which would not be so heavily dependent on raw materials. Canada has today the highest rate of unemployment of any industrial country. It should be borne in mind that, since May 1970, the Canadian dollar has been floating and has significantly appreciated in value. Canada was the first country to have accelerated and fully implemented its Kennedy Round tariff cuts. All of this means that Canadian industry has been, through the application of the U.S. surcharge, put at a most unfair, inequitable and injurious competitive disadvantage in the export market, which is vital to its continued development, and, in all the circumstances, there can be no justification for the imposition of these measures on Canada. In addition, due to Canada's geographical proximity to the U.S., to the similarities in market demand in many sectors of the economy and to the openness of the Canadian market, Canada stands exposed more than any other country to the danger of possible diversion, "spillover" and concentration of goods whose access has now been restricted in the U.S. market. We are in no position to contemplate such increased pressures on the Canadian market, particularly in light of the unemployment situation. We would take this opportunity to urge others to take all necessary steps to prevent such diversion and register our concern to safeguard against such intensified pressures.

It is, therefore, for Canada as for all other countries, a matter of the greatest urgency and importance that this U.S. surcharge should be removed expeditiously and that the necessary currency realignments that would rectify the exchange-rate situation be promptly carried out. In this connection, we note the formal assurances given by the President of the U.S. that, in any event, "when the unfair (exchange-rate) treatment is ended, the import tax will end as well". This is an important commitment, directly related, as we understand it, to the *de facto* realignment of main currencies and not to the longer-term question of major reform of the international monetary system. Nor could we accept that measures of this type should be linked to particular trade situations, for which there are other remedies and provisions in the GATT. As an immediate step, we would

ask the U.S. to exempt from surcharge goods in transit, as has been the case in similar situations in the past. It should be noted that, when Canada implemented surcharges, it took early steps to exempt goods in transit at the request of other countries, including the U.S.

### **Questions to be Asked**

The Contracting Parties will need to set up a working party to examine without delay all the relevant aspects of the U.S. action and will no doubt need to inquire fully into such questions as:

Is trade-restrictive action a necessary part of the overall U.S. effort to deal with its current problems, particularly bearing in mind that the U.S. has made the major decision to suspend temporarily the convertibility of the U.S. dollar into gold and other reserve assets?

If so, is the trade surcharge the appropriate type of measure to deal with these problems?

Are trade-restrictive measures appropriate in a situation where the trade imbalance does not appear to be the major factor in the overall balance-of-payments problem?

If so, is the surcharge as applied not excessive in its magnitude and coverage?

Are the domestic measures taken adequate to deal with the problem?

Are there alternative corrective measures that the U.S. should take?

In examining this matter, we should bear in mind the cardinal criterion formally recognized in the GATT and the OECD, that it is an essential responsibility of major trading countries that the balance-of-payments adjustment process should be so handled as not to unduly affect world trade.

We do not at this time wish to divert attention from what is by far the most serious issue facing us, but must refer to two other measures referred to in the official U.S. announcements, i.e. the proposed Domestic International Sales Corporation and the "Buy American" provisions of the investment tax credit. We wish to register the concern of the Canadian Government about these two measures, which would be particularly injurious to Canadian trade and economic interest and would appear to be discriminatory and of questionable consistency with the GATT. We would take this opportunity to urge U.S. authorities to reconsider their position on both these measures.

It is essential for the Contracting Parties to ensure that this U.S. action does not lead to retaliation in world trade or to a generalized proliferation of parallel restrictive moves. The Canadian Prime Minister has stated that it is not "in our interest to retaliate and set in motion the destructive spiral of an international trade war; everyone would be a loser in those circumstances". The specific issue before us should be dealt with and resolved and, while it may become necessary for particular individual countries to consider remedial or offsetting measures, this U.S. action should not become the occasion for a breakdown of world trade co-operation but, on the contrary, for a clear and urgent demonstration of close working partnership among all trading nations.

While the first order of business must be to deal with these trade measures, we must not allow this to overshadow what must be the essential and overriding objective of the Contracting Parties, now more than ever, i.e. the need to move forward in resolving basic trade problems, industrial and agricultural, tariff and non-tariff, and the need to prepare the ground for a major new move in the freeing of world trade. It is important that the U.S. promptly remove the surcharge so as to clear the way for such moves.

*The Prime Minister announced on September 1 the Government's decision to place a "contingency plan" before Parliament as soon as it reconvened. Accordingly, on September 7, a bill seeking authority for the establishment of an "employment support program" was introduced into the House of Commons. Speaking to this legislation, the Minister of Finance, the Honourable Edgar Benson, said that it had been rendered necessary by "the important and far-reaching changes that have taken place in the whole international economic system since Parliament adjourned in June". The text of Mr. Benson's statement follows:*

. . . These changes are a matter of critical concern to Canada. No other country stands to be as deeply affected directly and indirectly by the crisis confronting the post-war system of trade and payments — a crisis brought to a head by the wide-ranging series of measures announced by President Nixon on the night of August 15.

As one of the foremost trading nations, we have a vital interest in ensuring the maintenance of a sound and stable international trade and monetary system. We are even more vitally affected because the annual flow of capital, goods and services between Canada and the United States is far greater than that between any other two nations in the world.

The legislation before the House is a first, important step to deal as a matter of urgency with the most immediate and pressing problem confronting Canada as a result of the temporary surcharge of up to 10 per cent imposed by President Nixon on a wide range of U.S. imports. About one-quarter of Canadian exports to the United States are at present covered by the surcharge, approximately \$2.5-billion worth on the basis of 1970 trade.

As Members will be aware, we have been pressing for a total Canadian exemption from the surcharge on grounds which I will discuss later at more length. Discussions between the two governments are continuing and our position remains under active consideration by the Administration.

### **Program to Minimize Impact**

For the present, it is critically important that we develop a program to minimize the immediate impact on the Canadian economy of the U.S. surcharges. My colleague, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, will outline shortly the nature of the program provided for by the legislation now under consideration. Let me say only that it is directed to providing significant assistance to those



factories and firms that would be most severely affected by the continued imposition of the special duties.

There is no question that a number of the measures announced by the President pose a threat, although one of still unknown magnitude, to a continuation of the strong growth currently under way in our economy. And, of course, as I have explained to Secretary Connally, to the extent that our economy is damaged the U.S. program will be self-defeating.

Virtually all of the major indicators provide clear evidence that the economy has, in fact, been continuing to expand at a steadily accelerating rate. Just a week ago, Statistics Canada reported that during the second quarter of this year Canada's production of goods and services rose by almost \$3 billion to an annual rate of \$91 billion.

In value terms, the gross national product rose by 3.3 per cent during the quarter and real output by a substantial 2.1 per cent, an increase which Statistics Canada reported as "among the best experienced in recent years". At an annual rate, this represented an increase in real GNP during the period from April to June of 8.9 per cent.

### **Strong Upward Course**

In addition, Statistics Canada doubled its estimate of real growth of our national production during the first quarter of 1971 from .6 per cent to 1.2 per cent. This substantial upward revision is the result of later information and confirms the view taken in my last budget that the economy was firmly embarked on a strong upward course.

The average quarterly rate of growth in the first half of this year is now estimated by Statistics Canada to be a full percentage point above the average quarterly rate of real growth during the previous four quarters.

The quickening pace of the economy has been sparked by sharply-increased spending by consumers on goods and services. During the second quarter these expenditures rose by 4.3 per cent, which was the largest quarter-to-quarter increase in many years.

This expansion of consumer spending continues to be reinforced by steadily rising labour income, which grew by 3.2 per cent during the second quarter. The rise in labour income, in turn, reflects the strong growth that has been taking place in employment. Between April and July of this year, 817,000 more Canadians were at work. This increase in employment was 26 percent higher than that which occurred during the same period last year.

Because this very substantial increase in employment has been matched by an almost equally substantial increase in the size of the labour force, the rate of unemployment in July — the last month for which figures are available — declined only marginally from 6.4 to 6.3 per cent on a seasonally-adjusted basis. We are confident, however, that the trend of unemployment will continue to decline as the economy gathers further strength.

There are growing indications that one element of that further strength may come from increased capital investment undertaken in response to growing consumer demand. During the second quarter, total capital-investment expenditures increased by 5.7 per cent, while those undertaken by business for machinery, equipment and construction rose by 6 per cent. Outlays on new housing remained very strong, the second quarter increase matching the 4.5 percent increase recorded in the first. The mid-year survey of capital investment spending intentions, which was published recently, anticipated an increase in total investment outlays in 1971 of 11 per cent over 1970. This is an upward revision of almost two percentage points over the initial survey published earlier in the year, with most of the increase anticipated in the private sector.

An important element in the improving economic picture is the recovery of corporate profits and the consequent improvement in the ability of companies to undertake expanded capital investment. Profits increased by 8 per cent in the first quarter and by the same amount in the second, returning the level of corporate earnings close to the peak that was hit in the first quarter of 1969.

The fact that business inventories declined during the second quarter and that the ratio of stocks to current sales and unfilled orders was unusually low suggests that the rebuilding of inventories will provide an important new source of demand for goods during the second half of this year.

I should remind Members that the gathering momentum of the economy will continue to be reinforced in an important way by the expansionary budget measures which I introduced in the House on June 18 and by the removal of a major cause of uncertainty in the business sector with the introduction of the tax-reform legislation.

### **Bright Prospect Clouded**

As I indicated earlier, the bright prospect for the continued acceleration of Canada's economic growth has been clouded by the possible adverse impact of some of the measures announced by President Nixon. Because of the close links between the two countries, of course, it is undoubtedly true that Canada stands to gain some benefit to the extent that measures undertaken by the Administration to strengthen the U.S. economy are successful in achieving their purpose.

It is probable that the initial impact of the surcharge on the Canadian economy as a whole will not be too severe. For certain sectors of the economy, however, the surcharge poses serious problems immediately and it is these problems which the present bill is designed to alleviate. The longer the surcharge is applied against Canadian goods, the greater will be the adverse impact of the measure on the whole economy, an impact that could more than offset any benefits to be derived from an acceleration in growth of the U.S. economy.

Four days after the announcement of the U.S. economic measures, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce and I led a Canadian delegation to Washington to meet with Treasury Secretary John Connally, Commerce Secre-

tary Maurice Stans and their senior officials. The primary purpose of our discussions was to explain to the United States that if they damaged Canada it would hinder rather than help their program. That is why it is in the interest of the United States to exempt Canada from the surcharge.

During our meeting with members of the Administration, we readily acknowledged the necessity for the United States to take appropriate steps to deal with its deteriorating balance-of-payments and exchange situation. We recognized that they had posed increasingly critical problems, not only for the U.S. but for the continued stability of the international trade and monetary systems. The solution of those problems and the improvement in the domestic economy of the U.S. by fair and effective means are in the interest of every nation in the Western world.

At the same time, however, we also emphasized that for the U.S. to attempt to deal with its balance-of-payments problems by measures that could cause such disproportionate damage to the Canadian economy would be self-defeating. Canada is the best customer of the United States. Roughly a quarter of all U.S. exports abroad are purchased by Canadians — more than the total sold to Germany, Britain, France and Japan combined.

For the United States to adopt measures which would have the effect of restricting the growth of the Canadian economy could only serve to restrict the amount of goods and services Canada can import from the United States.

We also pointed out in our discussions with members of the Administration that the reasons put forward by the President for imposing the surcharge did not apply to Canada. Our currency has not been unfairly valued in relation to the U.S. dollar. Since a year ago last May, we have allowed the Canadian dollar to float. Our dollar is valued each day by the forces of demand and supply. As a result of this process, the exchange-rate has appreciated by more than 6 per cent. This surely cannot be considered unfair in the sense expressed by President Nixon.

By the same token, the United States Government has not contended that Canada maintains trade restrictions that impede its exports to this country in a major way — a complaint it has directed against some other nations. Given the massive volume and diversity of trade between the two countries, there are, of course, almost always minor problems concerning each government, but the U.S. has acknowledged there is not at present any problem outstanding that it regards as one of substantial dimensions.

While the U.S. has indicated concern about the substantial surplus Canada built up with it in merchandise trade last year, we have pointed out that this was due to a number of special and temporary factors. Even this surplus of over \$1 billion was more than offset by our deficit with the U.S. in non-merchandise trade, with the result that we ended last year with a small overall deficit on current account. With the advance of the Canadian economy and the consequent rise in our imports, Canada's merchandise surplus with the United States is in the process of declining and the current-account deficit increasing.



There has also been a substantial decline in the flow of long-term capital into Canada over the past several months, which undoubtedly reflects the request which I made to provinces, municipalities and corporations to restrict their borrowing abroad to the greatest extent possible.

While our most immediate and pressing concern is the impact of the surcharge on Canadian exports, the series of protective measures put forward by the Administration will have implications for the longer term which may be of even more fundamental importance.

Since the mid-Thirties, the world has turned away from protectionism. Canada and many other countries worked under the leadership of the United States to reduce barriers to international trade substantially, including our own. This move was consistent with and, in fact, a vital part of our own industrial and commercial policy. Within this framework, a series of Canadian Governments have sought to build up a sound and viable manufacturing industry in order to escape from undue dependence on the output of natural resources and to provide employment for our fast-growing labour force. In earlier years, the manufacturing sector was confined largely to producing a wide variety of goods in relatively small volume to serve the Canadian market alone. During the post-war period, however, we have made intensive efforts to "restructure" this sector of the economy so that it could take advantage of the opportunities for multi-lateral trade by specializing in the efficient production of goods that could compete effectively in the markets of the world.

Some 85 per cent of exported Canadian finished goods are sold in the United States. The basic question that is raised for consideration is whether we can continue to count on access to the U.S. over the longer term on mutually-acceptable terms — that is, on terms negotiated and agreed between the two governments — or whether we must reconsider our whole industrial and commercial policies in the light of events of the past few weeks.

The discussions which the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce and I held with members of the Administration were followed a week later by further talks between senior Canadian officials and their U.S. counterparts to examine in greater detail the impact of the surcharge on various sectors of the Canadian economy. It was agreed that these talks would be resumed following further study by the two governments.

Meanwhile, the implications of the U.S. measures are also being examined in a number of international forums. The Council of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has already met to study the issue. As chairman of the Group of Ten, I have convened a meeting of ministers in London on September 15 to give consideration to the international monetary questions raised by the U.S. move and the reaction to it by a number of leading industrial nations. To lay the groundwork for that discussion, senior officials of member countries of the Group of Ten met in Paris late last week. The meeting of ministers of the Group of Ten in London will be followed by another meeting in Washington prior to the beginning of the annual meeting there of the International Monetary Fund.

As the Prime Minister said in a statement following the announcement of the U.S. economic program, much of our effort on the international front has been directed to dampening any tendency abroad to adopt counter-measures of a retaliatory trade war. We have also sought to contribute constructively to the intensive discussions now going on about the way in which the international monetary system should be "restructured" to end the severe imbalances which created intolerable strains on the existing system and to restore international confidence.

We agree with the United States that one of the first requirements of an improved international economic system is a realignment of exchange-rates to reflect more accurately the real balance that should exist. It may well be that reaching agreement on adjustments of this kind will be closely interrelated to the securing of agreement with regard to the removal of restrictive U.S. measures. Ultimately, however, a proper balance will be achieved only if the relationships of exchange-rates reflect the underlying forces at work in the market.

It is not feasible for Canada or any other country to attempt to establish and maintain unrealistically low or unrealistically high exchange-rates. Our own experience early last year and the more recent experience of several major countries dramatically underline the truth of this contention. I am, however, acutely aware of the fact that the appreciation of our currency has raised difficult problems for a number of sectors of the economy — many of which have now seen their problems compounded by the new U.S. surcharge on imports.

In the difficult and still evolving international situation that confronts us, it is important to move with extreme care and careful consideration of all the many complex elements involved. As a Government, we are determined to do everything that is reasonably possible to protect the economic interests of Canadians against the adverse consequences that could result from restrictive measures adopted by other nations. The program provided for in the legislation placed before the House today is an important first step to deal with the immediate problem that has been raised for a number of sectors in the economy. As a matter of contingency, we have given and are continuing to give intensive consideration to a number of other measures. We shall not hesitate to bring forward such measures if they are warranted by the situation as it unfolds in the days ahead.

# *United Nations General Assembly*

## TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION — EXPECTED DEVELOPMENTS

ON September 21, 1971, representatives of the 127 member states of the United Nations will gather in New York for the opening of the twenty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly. The chairman of the Norwegian delegation (which provided the President of last year's session) will open the proceedings and after a few remarks will ask the members of the Assembly to rise for a minute of silent prayer or meditation. He will then proceed to appoint the Credentials Committee, which examines the credentials of delegations.

The Assembly will next elect by secret ballot the President of the twenty-sixth session. The newly-elected President will take his seat on the dais and call the session to order. It appears likely that Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, will be elected President, although Zenon Rossides, the Cypriote Permanent Representative to the United Nations, has not formally withdrawn his candidature.

The next step will be the election of the 17 vice-presidents, who include, in addition to representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council, seven vice-presidents from Africa and Asia, one from Eastern Europe, three from Latin America and two from the Western European and Others group. The regional group providing the Assembly President loses one of its vice-presidencies, so that the total number of vice-presidents remains 17. At the time of writing, the following are candidates for vice-presidencies:

Afro-Asian group: Zambia, Sudan

Latin American group: Costa Rica

Eastern European group: —

Western European and Others group: Belgium, Greece

The Assembly will proceed to constitute seven main committees of the whole through which it functions. The known or likely<sup>(1)</sup> candidates for committee chairmen are as follows:

First Committee — Political and security questions, including disarmament (Bulgaria)

Special Political Committee — shares the work of the First Committee (Ireland)

Second Committee — Economic questions (Philippines)

Third Committee — Social and cultural questions (Finland)

Fourth Committee — Colonial and trusteeship questions (Jamaica\*)

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<sup>(1)</sup> Indicated by an asterisk.



Fifth Committee — Budgetary and administrative questions (Nigeria)

Sixth Committee — Legal questions (Cyprus\*)

The President, the vice-presidents and the seven committee chairmen form the General Committee, whose function is to make recommendations to the Assembly on the adoption of the provisional agenda and the assignment of agenda items to the main committees, and subsequently to supervise and co-ordinate the work of the Assembly.

In addition to the seven main committees, the Assembly has established two standing committees, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Committee on Contributions, as well as a number of other standing subsidiary and special bodies, all of which deal with specific or recurrent problems.

After the Assembly has adopted the agenda, it holds a general debate, normally lasting about three weeks. During this period heads of delegation deliver policy statements explaining the attitudes of their respective governments on the subjects placed before the Assembly and emphasizing those matters their countries consider of the greatest importance.

By the end of September, each of the seven main committees will have met to elect its vice-chairmen and *rapporteurs* and to decide the order of business.

After a committee has concluded its consideration of an agenda item, it recommends a resolution or some other course of action through the medium of the report of the *rapporteurs* to a plenary meeting of the Assembly. Plenary meetings are called from time to time to deal with the agenda items assigned exclusively to plenary or to consider the reports of the committee *rapporteurs*. In practice, very few committee decisions are reversed by plenary. However, this may happen when the membership is almost equally divided on specific issues, since a resolution in committee needs only a simple majority for adoption whereas the Charter requires a two-thirds majority in plenary meetings on all matters of importance.<sup>(2)</sup>

Consideration of an agenda item usually begins with a general debate on all facets of the problem, which may last, depending on the item, from a few hours to two or three weeks. During this debate ideas crystallize, and draft resolutions and amendments to these resolutions are tabled by various delegations and finally voted on. Basically, there are three ways in which a resolution may be adopted: if the presiding officer is convinced that all the member states are in favour of a resolution, he may simply announce that unless he hears any objections the resolution will be considered as adopted unanimously. If this is not the case, delegations may signify their approval, rejection or abstention by a show-of-hands vote, a procedure under which only the total number of votes in favour, against or abstaining is recorded or by a roll-call vote, in which each delegation casts its vote orally and has it recorded in the records of proceedings. Sometimes voting gives rise to procedural issues, and observers may find it helpful to read beforehand the rules of procedure of the Assembly.

<sup>(2)</sup> See Article 18 of the Charter.

A great variety of United Nations documents are available during a session and must be studied carefully in order to follow effectively the work of the Assembly. The Permanent Mission in New York has prepared a guide to these documents to assist delegates in obtaining material they require. Moreover, the *Journal* is published every day; it indicates the time and place of committee meetings, briefly summarizes the previous day's proceedings, and announces the publication of new documents. A verbatim record of proceedings in plenary and in the First Committee, summary records for proceedings in all committees, studies of the subjects under discussion, draft resolutions, reports of *rapporteurs* and other documents can usually be obtained from the documents officer in charge of the Committee concerned.

Since it is expected that there will be over 100 items on the final agenda of this Assembly, it is not possible to give here a detailed background for each one, nor is it possible to indicate with certainty to which committee each will be assigned. The final agenda for each committee will be available in document form when the Assembly has taken action on the reports of the General Committee. In the meantime, a provisional agenda is available. The most important items are mentioned below, but the reader should remember that many items have a long history, the complete understanding of which would require many hours of study.

## Plenary Items

### Elections to the Security Council

The Security Council has 15 members. The Council consists of the five permanent members (China, France, Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.) and ten non-permanent members. These non-permanent members are elected from four geographical regions, five members being elected each year for two-year terms. Canada served on this Council during the twenty-second and twenty-third sessions. The table below shows declared candidates for office at the time of writing:

	Seats of Region	Vacancies	Candidates
Africa-Asia	5	3	Tunisia, Sudan, Guinea, India
Eastern Europe	1	1	Yugoslavia
Latin America	2	1	Panama
Western Europe and Others (including Canada)	2	0	(Terms of present mem- bers, Belgium and Italy, expire in 1972)

### Elections to Economic and Social Council

At the twentieth session (1965), nine new seats were added to the original 18, so that ECOSOC now consists of 27 members. The new seats are formally allocated as follows: seven to Africa and Asia, one to Latin America and one to the Western Europe and Other groups (including Canada).

The following table shows the vacancies for each region, with known or likely candidates. The customary pattern of distribution for the original seats has been combined with the formal regional allocations of the new seats:

Great powers (Britain, France, U.S.A., U.S.S.R.)	No. of seats	No. of vacancies	Candidates Britain (U.S.S.R. likely)
Africa-Asia	4	2	U.A.R., Thailand, Pakistan, Japan, Burundi
Latin America	5	2	Mexico
Western Europe and Others	4	1	Finland
Eastern Europe	2	1	Poland

### Appointment of Secretary-General

The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council, usually for a period of five years, although the term of office is not fixed by the Charter. At the time of writing, the permanent representatives of three countries — H.S. Amerasinghe (Ceylon), Max Jakobsen (Finland), and Endalkatchew Makonnen (Ethiopia) — have declared their candidacies for the Secretary-Generalship, which falls vacant when U Thant's second term expires on December 31, 1971. The names of numerous other prominent national and international figures have also been suggested for this position. While the incumbent has emphatically stated that he would not accept another term, the possibility that he might be asked to remain for an additional period of undetermined length if the permanent members of the Security Council are unable to agree on a new candidate has also been raised, although this now appears less likely.

### Rationalization of General Assembly Procedures and Organization

The General Assembly will have before it the report of the 31-member Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly, which was created last year on the initiative of Canada. Under the guidance of its chairman, Mr. Borch, the Permanent Representative of Denmark, and with the active participation of Canada, the Committee during the past four months carried out its mandate in a conscientious and thoroughgoing fashion.

In general, the Committee's achievement was as good as could have been



expected — perhaps even slightly better. If no spectacular success can be claimed for this Canadian initiative, reasonable satisfaction can be taken in its workman-like result. The number of the Committee's recommendations, their scope and the relative force with which they have been put compare favourably with those of previous committees devoted to the same end. Their aggregate contribution to an improved functioning of the Assembly will be significant if a genuine effort is made to implement them conscientiously.

It is true that none of the more far-reaching proposals have been adopted (including some of Canada's), but it was never really in the cards that such ideas as dividing or reducing the length of Assembly sessions, electing the General Committee in advance, or altering the responsibilities of the main committees would commend broad enough support.

The general debate of the Committee ended at the beginning of July, and most of its recommendations have been worked out. On September 8, the Committee will reconvene to reach agreement on the few remaining items and to consider and approve the draft report to the General Assembly.

### **Report of Special Committee on Colonialism**

The Special Committee of Twenty-Four has the task of supervising the implementation of the Colonial Declaration of December 1960, which proclaimed the necessity of bringing to an end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The Committee meets almost continuously in the interval between Assembly sessions. This year the Assembly will consider recommendations of the Special Committee on a variety of colonial or trust territories, including Rhodesia, the Portuguese territories, Namibia (South West Africa) and New Guinea. These territories differ widely in their political and economic development and each presents special problems. The recommendations of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four are generally dealt with by the Fourth Committee. The plenary session considers a general resolution on colonialism.

### **Chinese Representation**

This year Albania and other co-sponsors of the usual resolution on the representation of China in the United Nations have submitted the resolution early enough for it to be included in the provisional agenda of the General Assembly, Item 101. The resolution is identical to that of previous years except that, in the third preambular paragraph, it is made clear that the sponsors consider that the People's Republic of China should be made a permanent member of the Security Council.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs has publicly indicated that Canada will again this year vote in favour of the Albanian resolution and against the "important question" resolution if it is introduced. A significant change in United States policy was announced by Secretary of State Rogers at a press conference on August 2. He stated that the United States would support action at the next General Assembly calling for seating of the People's Republic of China. At

the same time, the United States would oppose action to deprive the Republic of China of representation in the United Nations. It appears likely, as a result of this statement, that the United States and other former sponsors of the "important question" resolution will not reintroduce it at this session of the General Assembly. It also appears likely, however, that proposals will be introduced in the Assembly to provide for some form of dual Chinese representation.

Canadian policy is that the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China, and a Canadian position on whatever proposals may be put forward will be decided in the light of that policy and in the light of the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

### **Admission of New Members**

The General Assembly will consider the recommendations of the Security Council that Bhutan and Bahrein be admitted to membership in the United Nations, probably early in the session. Canada will co-sponsor the application of Bhutan and support the application of Bahrein. Security Council consideration of Oman's application for membership has been deferred, but it is possible that the Council may make a recommendation to the General Assembly concerning this application later this year.

## **First Committee**

### **Arms Control and Disarmament**

The following arms-control and disarmament items have been placed on the provisional agenda of the next session of the General Assembly:

- (i) General and Complete Disarmament (Item 29)
  - (a) Report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament
  - (b) Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency
- (ii) Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons (Item 30)
- (iii) Nuclear-Weapons Testing (Item 31)
- (iv) Implementation of the Results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States (Item 32)
- (v) Signature and Ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco (Item 34)
- (vi) Economic and Social Consequences of the Armaments Race and its Effects on World Peace and Security (Item 35).

### **Background**

The twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly (XXVI UNGA) will discuss further efforts to achieve progress in arms control and disarmament against the background of a major positive development in this field in 1971: the strategic arms-limitations talks (SALT) between the United States and the Soviet Union in Helsinki and Vienna on limitations and reductions of offensive and defensive

strategic systems. In view of the complexity of the issues in SALT, which are directly related to the vital security interests of the two major nuclear powers and their allies, intensive negotiations seem inevitable before concrete agreements can be expected to emerge. On the basis of the joint announcement made by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on May 20, 1971, some progress appears to have been made, but how long it will take to translate this understanding in principle into initial agreements remains to be seen. These bilateral efforts to curtail the nuclear-arms race are directly related to the treaty obligations of the two major nuclear powers under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which entered into force on March 5, 1970, and are being watched with eager anticipation by UN members.

During 1971 the Safeguards Committee of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) successfully reached a consensus on safeguards arrangements to implement the undertakings by non-nuclear-weapons states parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty not to develop nuclear weapons. The effectiveness of these efforts under this treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons would also be enhanced by the willingness of key "near-nuclear" nations to join the large number of states that have renounced the nuclear-weapons option.

On February 11, 1971, following its overwhelming endorsement at the XXV UNGA, the Seabed Arms Control Treaty was opened for signature. This treaty prohibits the emplacement on the seabed outside a 12-mile coastal band of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and related installations. On that day Canada joined some 60 other states in signing the treaty, which now bears about 80 signatures. It will enter into force as soon as it has been ratified by 22 governments, including the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and Britain.

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) in Geneva is the negotiating instrument of the United Nations for arms-control and disarmament agreements. Although its progress has been disappointing, particularly on the more vital arms-controls issues, the CCD continues to reflect in microcosm the world's anxiety about the arms race and its determination to curtail this competition. In 1971 the major achievement of the CCD has been the tabling of a draft treaty to prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of biological weapons and toxins. Little substantive progress was made during the Committee's continued negotiations on a treaty banning chemical agents and on an underground-test ban, but Canada played an active role in the context of continuing studies of verification problems related to both these fields.

### **Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare**

The CCD has in 1971, on the request of the XXV UNGA, continued its consideration of ways to supplement the Geneva Protocol of 1925 by reaching an agreement on banning the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons. The disagreement over whether it was feasible to deal in a single instrument with both types of warfare agents, which raise verification



issues of very different magnitude, was broken in March when the Soviet Union, departing from its earlier position that both chemical and biological weapons must be banned in a single treaty, tabled a draft convention covering biological weapons and toxins only. Following negotiations, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. reached agreement and tabled in the CCD on August 5, 1971, identical draft conventions prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of biological weapons and toxins. Canada has supported this joint proposal for a treaty that is similar to the original British draft text it favoured. It is considered likely that the CCD will be able to reach agreement on the draft convention for presentation to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly.

Work has continued on the question of banning the production, development and stockpiling of chemical weapons. The intractable problem of verification of such an agreement was studied at an informal meeting of experts, but much more work seems necessary before an adequate and acceptable verification system for a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons could be devised.

### **Underground Nuclear Tests**

In 1963 the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTB) was concluded banning nuclear-weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. Since then negotiations to complete the PTB by banning underground tests have been stalled, apparently as a result of the deadlock between the two major nuclear powers concerning the modalities of a verification system. The U.S.A. continues to maintain that some obligatory on-site inspection is necessary to provide for cases where it is not possible to discriminate between underground nuclear explosions and natural events by seismological means. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, insists that "national means" of non-intrusive verification are entirely adequate to monitor an underground-test ban, and has declined, at least in recent years, to accept any treaty obligation providing for on-site inspection. Serious negotiations have not been pursued for more than eight years, and meanwhile the rate and size of underground testing by the super-powers has increased. In addition, atmospheric testing is still being carried out by France and China, which have not acceded to the PTB.

As a possible means of facilitating a resolution of this stalemate, Canada began in 1969 to urge international co-operation in the exchange, on an assured basis, of adequate seismic data and their use in discriminating between underground nuclear explosions and natural earthquakes in order to monitor an underground-test ban by non-intrusive seismological techniques as much as possible. Responding to the resolution sponsored by Canada at the XXIV UNGA, many members provided the Secretary-General last year with details of the quantity and quality of the seismic data they would be willing to supply from their seismological stations. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union and its allies declined to co-operate in this exercise.

On the basis of these new "hard" data, Canadian experts have prepared "in-

depth" analyses of the state of the art of seismological identification of underground tests. The first major Canadian study was circulated to all members of the United Nations at the XXV UNGA. Canada followed up this initial, largely theoretical, study with an empirical case-study showing the results achieved for known test-sites in Eurasia, using records from numerous seismological stations of the world-wide facilities listed in the returns to the Canadian resolution. Taking a sample of earthquakes and underground explosions, the Canadian research demonstrated that the discrimination techniques worked extremely well down to underground explosions of 20 kilotons in yield (in hard rock) in Eurasia. Moreover, the Canadian study suggested that, with regard to smaller explosions, relatively simple and economical supplementary steps could be taken to lower this technical identification threshold to, in general, between five and ten kilotons (in hard rock) for the northern hemisphere. The Canadian technical studies do not, of course, in themselves conclusively eliminate all residual uncertainties and possible ambiguities concerning the detection or deterrence of violations and evasions of an underground-test ban. This is particularly true at extremely low-yield levels, where the problem of verification by any known means trails off into the realm of the highly improbable. But the Canadian research, studies by other states, the investment by certain countries in elaborate facilities and the possibilities for the international exchange of seismic data all combine to suggest that monitoring underground explosions by seismological means, on a high-probability basis, down to the low to low-intermediate yield range, may be feasible.

An underground-test ban is clearly the most vital subject on the agenda of the CCD, and one that repeated UNGA resolutions have stressed that the Committee should pursue urgently. In the Canadian view, the CCD had devoted too little attention to the question of an underground-test ban in recent years and Canadian efforts in 1970 and 1971 have helped to win this issue more of the attention it deserves.

In addition, because of the long delay in concluding an underground-test ban, Canada proposed, in statements on April 6 and June 29, 1971, that interim measures to reduce underground testing that could readily be verified by existing means should be undertaken at once by the two major testing states. Such interim measures to curtail testing might be transitional in that they could help to build confidence and facilitate progress towards a complete prohibition of underground tests, which is the goal to which Canada, the CCD, the UNGA and both super-powers are publicly committed.

These Canadian suggestions presented to the CCD can be summarized as follows:

- (i) Immediate Measures to Reduce Underground Testing and Guard Against its Harmful Effects
  - (a) Undertakings by the two major testing states to reduce their underground nuclear-weapons testing, starting with relatively high-yield blasts as an earnest of their intent to work towards a complete ban;

(b) consideration of further measures to guard against environmental risks connected with underground testing

(ii) **Immediate Measures to Help Develop Seismological Identification Techniques and Facilities for a Complete Underground Test Ban**

(a) Advance notification of details of planned underground nuclear explosions in order to assist in further research on seismological discrimination capabilities;

(b) undertakings to co-operate in the use, development and improvement of facilities for the monitoring of underground tests by seismological means.

It is hoped that further consideration of and support for these Canadian ideas will come about at the forthcoming General Assembly and that resolutions may be agreed upon that will help to ensure that the CCD gives the underground-test issue top priority in its deliberations next year, so that concrete results may be achieved without further prolonged delay.

### **Other Agenda Items**

The remaining agenda items will provide an opportunity for discussions of, and perhaps resolutions of, (a) progress towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States (CNNWS) of 1968 and reports from the IAEA and other Specialized Agencies and international bodies that are concerned with the recommendations of the CNNWS; (b) the interest of the Latin American states party to the Treaty, of Tlatelolco, which created the Latin American nuclear-free zone, in urging the nuclear-weapons states (NWS) to accede to Protocol II to the Treaty, under which the NWS would undertake not to violate its objectives; and (c) the economic and social consequences of the arms race and its effects on world peace and security. The first two items are not expected to take up very much time in the First Committee. The last item is currently under study by a Secretary-General's study group, consisting of panels of experts, whose report is due at the XXVI UNGA. A Canadian expert is contributing to this study.

### **Measures for Strengthening International Security**

This item was inscribed on the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly by the U.S.S.R. There was general agreement that a substantive document commanding wide support could not be prepared at that session and that any document on a question of fundamental importance should have the support of the great majority of members. The twenty-fourth session, therefore, referred the matter to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly and, in the meantime, requested member states to make known to the Secretary-General their views and proposals on the strengthening of international security.

At the twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly had before it the views of governments, including those of Canada. As well, four draft declarations were



tabled, by the U.S.S.R., six countries (including Canada), the Latin American group, and a group of non-aligned countries. The First Committee established a consultative group to produce an acceptable draft, which was adopted in plenary, with only South Africa voting against it and Portugal abstaining. The document consists of some 26 paragraphs of recommendations, which, if heeded, should result in the strengthening of international security.

The Secretary-General will report to the twenty-sixth session on steps taken in pursuance of the declaration, and there is likely to be some debate on the subject.

### **Outer Space**

The 28-member UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, on which Canada has served since its formation in 1959, is required to report to the General Assembly on present and potential activities of the United Nations relating to the peaceful uses of outer space; to investigate areas of possible international co-operation in this field under United Nations auspices; and to explore the nature of legal problems which might arise in the exploration and use of outer space. The Committee, the main annual meeting of which normally takes place in September, functions through a Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee, a Legal Sub-Committee, and specific working groups as required.

At the eighth session of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee, held last July, Canada, together with Austria, India, Iran, Italy, Sierra Leone and Sweden (and, eventually, the U.S.A.), co-sponsored a proposal, which was adopted, for the creation of a working group on earth-resources surveying by satellite. An organizational meeting of the working group will be held in conjunction with the Outer Space Committee meeting early in September.

The Legal Sub-Committee held its tenth session in Geneva in June. Pursuant to a basic agreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the substance of a compromise, the Sub-Committee succeeded in completing a draft convention on international liability for damage caused by space objects. Canada, together with Sweden and Japan, opposed the draft convention, since, in their view, it is not sufficiently "victim-oriented", particularly with respect to the absence of compulsory binding arbitration.

At its twenty-third session, the General Assembly approved the establishment by the Committee of a working group to study and report on the technical feasibility of direct broadcasting from satellites and the current and foreseeable developments in this field, as well as the implications of such developments in the legal, social, cultural and other areas. The working group, in completing its tasks to date, produced three reports and can be reconvened if circumstances warrant.

The Committee, after reviewing the reports of its two Sub-Committees, will in turn table a report for consideration by UNGA's First Committee.

## **Peaceful Uses of the Seabed**

In Resolution 2750(C) (XXV), the UNGA decided to expand the membership of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (of which Canada has been a member since the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee in 1968) from 42 to 86 states, and gave it the mandate to prepare for a comprehensive conference on the Law of the Sea, tentatively scheduled for 1973. The Canadian delegation was closely associated with the negotiation of this compromise resolution and was also one of the first Western delegations to signify acceptance of the declaration of principles on the seabed beyond national jurisdiction ultimately incorporated in Resolution 2749 (XXV). The Seabed Committee, the preparatory committee for the Third Law of the Sea Conference, held two sessions during 1971, in March and August respectively, and will submit its report to the XXVI UNGA. In these two sessions, the Committee substantially completed its preliminary general debate but was unable to agree on a fundamental aspect of its mandate, namely the drawing up of a comprehensive list of issues of the Law of the Sea which might form the basis for the agenda of the 1973 conference and the preparation of draft articles for submission to that conference. In a number of interventions at the March and August sessions of the Committee, the Canadian delegation outlined its position on such matters as the future international seabed regime and machinery (on which the delegation also submitted a working paper which is included among the official documents of the Committee), the fisheries jurisdiction of coastal states, the prevention of marine pollution, and the conceptual basis for a general accommodation on the outstanding issues of the Law of the Sea.

## **Special Political Committee**

### **Apartheid**

The *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa are deplored and condemned by almost all members of the General Assembly, including Canada. There is, however, a wide divergence of views about the means which should be employed to bring pressure against South Africa to change its policies. Many Afro-Asian states advocate economic sanctions against South Africa as the only means of achieving a peaceful solution and have stressed the significance of the economic and other relations which Western states continue to maintain with South Africa. In recent years the African states have voiced particular concern over the racial problem developing in Southern Africa as a whole and the alleged alliance between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. Some states have urged that increased status and assistance should be given to the various South African liberation movements, which advocate the overthrow of the South African regime by force. Canada opposes the idea of resort to force or economic sanctions to deal with the problem of *apartheid*. It has, however, contributed to United Nations programs and funds

designed to assist South Africans abroad, supported demands for the release of political prisoners in South Africa, and taken steps to implement the voluntary Security Council arms embargo against South Africa.

### **UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees**

This agency was set up in 1950 to provide relief for, and to facilitate the rehabilitation of, the Arab refugees who lost their homes and means of livelihood during the hostilities which accompanied the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Since UNRWA's inception, the refugee population, originally estimated at from 700,000 to 800,000, has risen to nearly 1.6 million. UNRWA provides rations and services (health, education, vocational training) to more than one million refugees. Its budget is made up of voluntary contributions from governments, UN agencies, and private associations and individuals. The United States makes by far the largest contribution to the UNRWA budget; it is closely followed by Britain, Canada and certain Scandinavian countries. Owing to increased responsibilities resulting from the war of June 1967, the UNRWA budget has shown a serious deficit during the past few years. The Agency has found itself obliged, for lack of money, to curtail some of the services which it provided to the refugees. At the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, discussion of the Agency's work will probably focus again on its formidable financial problems. The UNRWA debate can also be expected to produce a reiteration by the Arab states and by Israel of their established positions on the refugee problem and the whole Palestinian question.

### **Middle East Situation**

The Canadian Government believes that the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 242, adopted on 22 November 1967, offers the best available means of achieving durable peace in the Middle East. The Government considers that this resolution meets the essential positions of the parties to the dispute and entails an equitable balance of obligations on both sides. The resolution represents a fair, balanced and non-prejudicial basis for the mission of the special representative of the Secretary-General.

Resolution 242 stipulates that: (1) All claims or states of belligerency are to be terminated and the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area are to be respected and acknowledged. (2) The right of all states in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force is to be respected. (3) The Israeli armed forces should withdraw from territories occupied following the June 1967 war. (4) It is necessary to achieve a just settlement of the Palestinian refugee problem. (5) Freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area should be guaranteed. (6) The territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the area should be guaranteed through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones.



The Canadian Government welcomed the agreement toward the end of 1970 by Israel, Jordan and the United Arab Republic to participate in talks under the aegis of Ambassador Jarring, the Secretary-General's special representative for the Middle East. It is a matter for regret that these talks have thus far made only very limited progress, and indeed have been in abeyance for several months. The Government hopes that, either through the offices of Ambassador Jarring or by other mutually-agreeable means, the parties will pursue efforts to reach a comprehensive peace settlement on the basis of their declared willingness to implement fully Security Council Resolution 242. The Canadian Government will consider sympathetically any opportunity which may develop for Canada to participate constructively, with the agreement of the parties, in efforts to achieve lasting peace in the Middle East.

### **Effects of Atomic Radiation**

The 15-member United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) was established by the General Assembly at its tenth session to collect, study and disseminate information on the effects of nuclear radiation on man and his environment. The Committee submitted a comprehensive report to the twenty-fourth session of the UNGA examining in detail radioactive contamination of the environment by nuclear tests, radiation-induced aberrations in human cells, and the effects of ionizing radiation on the nervous system. Comprehensive reports were also prepared in 1958, 1962, 1964 and 1966.

Last year, the General Assembly accepted a recommendation that future UNSCEAR reports should contain "information on contamination resulting from the peaceful applications of nuclear energy and the applications of radioisotopes". In view of the present comprehensive re-examination of the United Nations machinery for dealing with scientific and technological subjects, it is not at present entirely clear where UNSCEAR will fit into whatever new scheme of things is decided upon.

### **Second Committee**

The Second Committee deals with economic, aid and environmental questions. Because of the increasing attention being given within the United Nations to the problems of economic development of the developing countries (which comprise the bulk of the membership), this Committee has become one of the most important of the General Assembly. The major issues it will consider this year include the expansion of ECOSOC, review and appraisal of the objectives and policies of the Strategy for the Second Development Decade, industrial development, science and technology, edible protein, the establishment of an international university, United Nations Volunteers, and environmental questions.

Under consideration of the report of ECOSOC, the Second Committee will also review the activities of the Specialized Agencies and of the United Nations Development Program, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

### **Expansion of ECOSOC**

The Economic and Social Council, which meets semi-annually in Geneva and New York, is the United Nations organ given the key role, under the authority of the General Assembly, for co-ordinating the broad range of UN economic and social activities. The Second Committee will have before it certain recommendations contained in an omnibus resolution of the fifty-first session of ECOSOC, which proposes that the General Assembly enlarge ECOSOC from 27 to 54 seats and elect members to enlarged sessional committees. In the same resolution, ECOSOC decided to establish two standing committees of 54 members, to deal with the application of science and technology to development and with the review and appraisal of the objectives and policies of the DD2 Strategy. This resolution was developed as a "package" to meet different concerns of member states — on the one hand, of those which consider that ECOSOC must discharge more effectively the co-ordinating role assigned to it under the Charter and, on the other hand, of those that consider the 27-member Council to be unrepresentative of the United Nations membership as a whole.

If the General Assembly in effect endorses the "package" by acting on the recommendations addressed to it by ECOSOC, one result should be that Canada, which has not held a seat on the Council since 1967, will be able to play a more active role in the work of this key UN body.

### **Second Development Decade**

Adopted by the commemorative session of the twenty-fifth General Assembly, the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade presents a comprehensive global policy of international development in the 1970s. The current question before the Second Committee concerning DD2 is that of the institutional arrangements for review and appraisal of the objectives and policies of the Strategy. The Secretary-General submitted to the fifty-first session of ECOSOC a report outlining the details of a general system of appraisal of the progress made in implementing the Strategy and recommending, *inter alia*, that ECOSOC have the pre-eminent role in the appraisal process. It was in the context of this recommendation that ECOSOC decided to establish the 54-member standing committee referred to above.

### **UNCTAD**

Established in 1964 as an organ of the General Assembly, with a permanent secretariat located in Geneva, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is a continuing forum for discussion of a broad range of subjects

relating to the trade and development problems of the developing countries. The Committee will consider the reports of the eleventh session of the Trade and Development Board, the main permanent intergovernmental organ of UNCTAD, which meets annually between conferences. Canada is a member of the TDB. Since the second session of UNCTAD was held in New Delhi in 1968, progress has been made in a number of fields, the most notable being the establishment of a scheme of general tariff preferences by developed countries for manufactured and semi-manufactured products from developing countries. UNCTAD III is scheduled to be held in Santiago, Chile, from April 13 to May 10, 1971.

## **UNIDO**

The Special International Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held in Vienna, June 1-8, 1971, has submitted a number of recommendations in its report to the General Assembly concerning the long-range strategy, organizational structure and financing of UNIDO. In addition, the Second Committee will have before it the report of the fifth session of the Industrial Development Board, May 1971.

## **UNDP**

The report of the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Program, which is responsible for most of the United Nations technical assistance and pre-investment activities, will also receive attention in the Second Committee. The report of the Governing Council includes recommendations arising from the *Capacity Study of the United Nations Development System*, prepared by Sir Robert Jackson. These recommendations are concerned primarily with improving the co-ordinative and administrative role of the programs of the Specialized Agencies and the UNDP.

## **Edible Protein**

The twenty-fifth General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report on the possible elements of a strategy suggesting the role of governments and the contribution of the UN system in dealing with the current protein crisis. This report has been submitted to the Assembly through ECOSOC.

## **Human Environment**

The Second Committee will receive a progress report on the preparations being made for the major United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held in 1972 in Stockholm. The main purpose of the Conference will be to encourage action by governments and international organizations designed to protect and improve the human environment and to remedy and prevent its impairment by means of international co-operation. Canada is a member of the preparatory committee for the Conference, the third session of which will be held in New York, September 13-24. It is unlikely that there will be any substan-



tive discussion at the General Assembly, though the question of attendance by non-members, such as East Germany and the People's Republic of China, may be raised.

### **International University and UN Volunteers**

The question of the establishment of an international university will be considered. Feasibility studies by the UN and by UNESCO have been undertaken during the past year.

The Second Committee will also review the experience gained to date in the operation of the United Nations Volunteers program, which was officially established on January 1, 1971.

## **Third Committee**

The Third Committee considers items which fall within the field of human rights and those of a social, cultural or humanitarian nature. Some 15 substantive items, plus major segments of the report of the Economic and Social Council, are to be allocated for its consideration.

### **Field of Human Rights**

There will take place a wide-ranging and, in part, highly-polarized, discussion of the state of human rights internationally within the context of the consideration of Item 57, "Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination"; Item 58, "Importance of the Universal Realization of the Right of Peoples to Self-determination and of the Speedy Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for the Effective Guarantee and Observance of Human Rights"; Item 59, "Question of the Punishment of War Criminals and of Persons who have Committed Crimes against Humanity"; Item 60, "Measures to be taken against Nazism and Other Totalitarian Ideologies and Practices based on Incitement to Hatred and Racial Intolerance"; and Item 66, "Status of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol". While these items will, as has become customary, provide the occasion for political interventions on the part of those member states which consider human rights questions to be political in nature, on a broad range of subjects, including *apartheid*, the Middle East situation, Vietnam, colonialism and "neo-colonialism", there will also be substantive discussion of positive and practical means to promote racial and social justice internationally and to promote adherence to and observance of the major international conventions in the field, in particular the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and, under the above mentioned Item 66, of the International Covenants.

If time permits, the session could see progress by the Committee towards, or completion of consideration and adoption of, a declaration and a convention

on freedom of information (Item 54), a subject which has been deferred from session to session since 1960. Slow progress is partly the result of conceptual differences on the meaning of freedom of information between the Eastern European and many developing countries, on the one hand, and the Western European group on the other. Similarly, a possibility exists that Item 63, which deals with a draft declaration and a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance that has been deferred since 1968, will receive consideration.

### **UN High Commissioner for Human Rights**

The question of "The Creation of the Post of High Commissioner for Human Rights", Agenda Item 64, will, in particular, polarize the Committee. The creation of this office, the subject of which was first raised in 1965, was recommended by ECOSOC to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. Its realization has been hindered, partly by the heavily-charged agenda of the Committee over the past four years, but even more by successful procedural manoeuvres on the part of opponents of the scheme, primarily Eastern European and Arab states. This was especially true at the twenty-fourth session, and may have resulted in a reluctance on the part of uncommitted delegations to take up once more its consideration. The numerous proponents of the office, thought to represent a majority of member states, believe that the proposed office would provide an important instrument for the protection of human rights and will thus press for a thorough discussion of the issue and creation of the office.

### **Humanitarian Questions**

With regard to humanitarian matters, the Committee will continue its consideration of "Human Rights in Armed Conflicts", Item 52. This item deals with the development of humanitarian and international law relating to armed conflicts, a matter raised at the 1968 Tehran International Conference on Human Rights and pursued by the International Conference of the Red Cross (ICRC) held in Istanbul in September 1969. In each case, the Canadian delegation played a leading role in focusing attention on the question. The Canadian Government believes that United Nations action in this field should be closely co-ordinated with, and complementary to, that in progress under the auspices of the ICRC. At the present session, the Third Committee will consider recent developments in this area and will give further consideration to a draft convention on the "Protection of Journalists Engaged in Dangerous Missions in Areas of Armed Conflict", which was presented by the delegation of France at the twenty-fifth session and has subsequently received preliminary consideration by the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council, and an ICRC meeting of experts.

The annual report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will be before the Committee. While the report for 1970 will be of a somewhat routine nature, the High Commissioner may also submit a report of his activities related to his designation by the Secretary-General as focal point for United Nations relief to East Pakistani refugees.

The consideration of Item 62, "Assistance in Cases of Natural Disaster", will present the Committee with the occasion to discuss the role of the United Nations in disaster relief. The Committee will have before it for endorsement the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council, on the suggestion of the Secretary-General, that the post of a United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator be established to provide for the harmonization of aid provided by the United Nations family to countries which have experienced a natural disaster, and to co-ordinate such aid with aid from other sources.

### **Social Questions**

The presentation by the Secretary-General of his triennial report on "The World Social Situation" (Item 56) will provide a focal point for discussions in that area. The report, which has already received consideration by the Commission on Social Development and subsequently by the Economic and Social Council, contains chapters on developments both in functional sectors such as health, population, food and nutrition, and housing, building and planning, and on geographic areas of the world.

The subject of "Criminality and Social Change" (Item 67) will receive attention at this session. It is an item generally considered by the Committee in the year following each quinquennial United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. The fourth Congress was held in Kyoto, Japan, in August 1970. The fifth Congress is to be held in Toronto in September 1975, a reflection of the interest of the Canadian Government and of Canadians in general in the field of social defence. The debate on this item in the Third Committee will reflect the opinions of governments towards recent developments and the anticipated increased program of the United Nations in the field of social defence which was approved in May by the Economic and Social Council on the recommendation of the Social Development Commission following the consideration of the deliberations of the fourth Congress.

Two agenda items may be discussed substantively for the first time at the twenty-sixth session, namely Item 55, "Question of the Elderly and the Aged", and Item 53, "Human Rights and Scientific and Technological Developments". The former raises for discussion the questions of the effect of medical discoveries on the process of aging, the possibility of making better use of the abilities and experiences of older people and the possibility of international co-operation on these questions. The intent of the latter is to concentrate attention on the problems, for individual rights, arising from progress in science and technology, including consideration of the effect on privacy of advances in recording and other techniques; the physical and intellectual integrity of the human personality in the light of advances in biology, medicine and biochemistry; and the balance which should be established between scientific and technological progress and the intellectual, spiritual, cultural and moral advancement of humanity. These items originally placed on the agenda of the twenty-fifth session were deferred to the present



session. Should they be reached on the agenda, discussion will focus on reports prepared by the Secretary-General. A third item, "Town Twinning as a Means of International Co-operation", has been deferred since the twenty-second session and is likely, for lack of time, to be deferred once more.

### **Fourth Committee**

The Fourth Committee considers colonial questions. In the past few years, the pressure for rapid attainment of self-government and independence has been so great that there has been a general discussion of colonialism in plenary, in addition to the consideration of individual territories in the Fourth Committee. Thus it is possible to have a discussion of a particular colonial territory in progress in the Fourth Committee at the same time as plenary is considering the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four on Colonialism. However, the Fourth Committee remains the focal point of the colonial debate in the United Nations.

The function of the Fourth Committee is to encourage the implementation of the principle of self-determination for the remaining colonial territories. Three classes of colonial territory come within the Committee's field of responsibility:

(a) *Non-Self-Governing Territories*. There are some 50 of these, ranging from Angola and Mozambique to small island dependencies like St. Helena and the Falkland Islands.

(b) *Trust Territories*. Only two territories remain under the trusteeship agreements negotiated after the Second World War: Australian New Guinea and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the United States. New Guinea's administration is supervised by the Trusteeship Council, which reports annually to the General Assembly.

(c) *Namibia (South West Africa)* (See below.)

The hard-core colonial problems which will come before the Fourth Committee at this session can be narrowed to three: Rhodesia, the Portuguese territories in Africa, and Namibia. In addition to being colonial questions, these problems also have racial overtones, as political power in these territories remains in the hands of a white minority and the Africans, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, are still deprived of many basic political rights.

#### **Namibia (formerly South West Africa)**

Unlike the holders of other League of Nations mandates, South Africa did not agree to convert South West Africa, a territory under its administration, into a United Nations Trust Territory when the United Nations was established. Since that time South Africa has steadfastly refused to acknowledge that it is accountable to the international community for its administration of South West Africa, over which it continues to exercise effective control. In mid-1966, the International Court of Justice decided on technical grounds not to render a judgment

on the merit of claims that South Africa was not fulfilling the terms of the mandate. The General Assembly decided later that year that the mandate under which South Africa administered South West Africa was thereby terminated, and that thenceforth the United Nations would exercise direct responsibility for the territory. In 1967 the General Assembly established an 11-member United Nations Council to administer the territory and lead it to independence, and in 1968 the name of the territory was changed to "Namibia".

At issue since 1966 has been the failure of South Africa to comply with the resolution which withdrew the mandate and the resulting inability of the United Nations to implement its decision to exercise direct responsibility for the territory. An advisory opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice on June 21, 1971, declared the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia to be illegal and considered South Africa under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately.

Canada has supported the withdrawal of South Africa's mandate, but insisted that measures taken by the United Nations to implement its decision must be practical and take into account South Africa's present *de facto* control of the territory.

### **Rhodesia**

Since Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence on November 11, 1965, there have been sustained efforts on the part of the international community to put an end to the illegal regime. On December 16, 1966, the Security Council adopted a number of selective mandatory sanctions designed to cripple the Rhodesian economy. These sanctions were considerably broadened by Security Council resolutions of May 29, 1968, and March 18, 1970. Since the regime has continued to remain in power, there will be criticism at the twenty-sixth session that sanctions have not been effective. There will also be pressure from many African and Asian states on Britain to use force to end the rebellion and demands that sanctions be extended to South Africa and Portugal, which have not been applying them to Rhodesia.

Should recent probes on the part of the British Government to resolve the Rhodesian situation prove to be in any way successful, while falling short of NIBMAR (No Independence Before Majority Rule), Rhodesian issues can be expected to be at the forefront of the twenty-sixth session. Canada has consistently supported the sanctions against Rhodesia but has opposed the use of force because of the grave political, social and economic repercussions, both inside and outside Rhodesia, of such a course and the consequent human and material cost.

### **Portuguese Territories**

Traditionally, the Portuguese Government has regarded its overseas territories as integral parts of a unitary Portuguese state, and not, therefore, as non-self-governing territories under the terms of the Charter. Proposed changes granting

greater autonomy to the territories now before the Portuguese National Assembly will not alter opinion within the United Nations that Portugal refuses to acknowledge the right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination. Portugal has also been criticized for its alleged co-operation with South Africa and Rhodesia. At the twenty-sixth session the Fourth Committee is likely to again adopt recommendations calling on Portugal to accept the principle of self-determination and to transmit information to the United Nations on the territories. The African states may seek to strengthen these recommendations and to isolate Portugal further by bringing in resolutions calling for economic sanctions and a ban on military and technical assistance. In this regard they may bring particular criticism against three members of NATO, whom they allege provide Portugal with the military and economic aid it requires to maintain its colonial possessions. There may also be calls for increased support for the liberation movements in the territories. Canada maintains that Portugal should acknowledge the right of the peoples in the Portuguese territories to self-determination, but has opposed the use of coercive measures against Portugal. Canada has not contributed any military aid to Portugal since 1960. With respect to commercial sales, it has been the policy of the Canadian Government since 1960 not to permit the export to Portugal of arms or equipment or materials for the manufacture of arms or equipment which it considers would be used for military purposes outside the NATO area.

Attention may also be drawn to the involvement by firms of a number of Western countries in the Cabora Bassa dam project currently under way in Mozambique. Opponents of the project argue that completion of the project will not only further entrench Portuguese domination of the region but also strengthen the economies of the white minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. Considerable pressure has already been brought to bear on those countries which have firms with some interests in the project to have their firms withdraw these interests.

## **Fifth Committee**

Administrative and budgetary questions are assigned to the Fifth Committee. Some of the principal items before the twenty-sixth session will be:

### **Report of Committee on Contributions**

The Committee on Contributions is an expert body of 12 members established by the General Assembly to recommend to the Assembly the scale of assessments according to which the expenses of the United Nations are to be apportioned. The scale is reviewed periodically by the Committee, which assigns a percentage of the total expenses in the regular budget to each member state according to its relative capacity to pay. The proposed scale is determined in the first instance by comparing the net national product estimates of member states. However, the Committee is also required to take into account certain other principles and



factors laid down in the various directives of the General Assembly. These include the "ceiling principle", which provides that no member state should pay more than 30 per cent of the total budget and in accordance with which the U.S. assessment is being gradually reduced; the "*per capita* ceiling principle", which stipulates that the *per capita* contribution of any member state should not exceed that of the member paying the highest assessment, namely the United States (applies only to Sweden and Kuwait); the "floor-rate", which sets the minimum rate of assessment for any member at .04 per cent; the provision of special allowances for low *per capita* income countries and countries with special foreign-exchange problems; and mitigating considerations for members whose assessments have undergone major changes.

At its twenty-fifth session the General Assembly approved the scale proposed by the Committee on Contributions for the UN fiscal years 1971, 1972 and 1973. Canada's percentage contribution to the net budget of the United Nations organization stands at 3.08 per cent, which amounts to a 0.6 per cent increase over the previous scale. That of the United States has been decreased over the previous rate by 0.5 per cent to 31.52. The largest increase has been in the assessment of Japan from 3.78 per cent to 5.4 per cent. If the proposed scale is approved by the General Assembly, Canada is the eighth-largest contributor, following the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., France, Britain, Japan, China and Italy. Out of a total of 127 members, 64 are assessed the minimum rate of .04 per cent. This includes Fiji, which became a member of the UN last autumn. If Bhutan joins the organization this autumn, the Committee recommends its contribution at the minimum of .04 per cent.

### **Approval of 1972 Budget Estimates**

After approving the financial accounts of the United Nations for the 1970 financial year and any supplementary estimates required for 1971, the Fifth Committee, aided by reports of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ), will be called on to debate and approve the budget estimates for the 1972 financial year. The gross expenditure proposed by the Secretary-General in the 1972 budget estimates is \$207,721,500. This figure is \$15.5 million, or 8.1 percent, more than the 1971 appropriations of \$192,149,300. At this stage, the budget estimates do not provide for certain expenditures whose amounts cannot yet be estimated. These include estimates of expenditures resulting from decisions taken by the Economic and Social Council at its summer session or to be taken by the General Assembly this autumn, which will be the subject of revised estimates later this year. If past performance can be taken as a guide, when all the additional items have been precisely estimated they may well have the effect of adding a further \$6 million or more to the Secretary-General's initial request.

In the past there has become apparent a marked difference of opinion between the developing and the developed countries, the former generally taking

the position that no restrictions should be placed on resources which are required to implement programs approved by the General Assembly. Developed countries have taken different positions, arguing, for example, that the world organization is expanding at too rapid a rate to cope effectively with continuing and new problems that are assigned to it and that a period of consolidation is required. The largest single portion of the United Nations budget is for staff and related costs. Last year, appropriations under this section totalled \$108,500,000, or nearly 57 per cent of the total. Final adoption of the budget by the Assembly requires a two-thirds majority of those present and voting in plenary session.

### **Personnel Questions**

In its discussion of personnel questions, the Fifth Committee will again consider the Secretary-General's report on the composition of the Secretariat and other personnel matters and will discuss the progress achieved towards realizing the objective of "equitable geographical distribution" of professional posts in the United Nations Secretariat. At its seventeenth session, the General Assembly established guidelines to govern equitable geographical distribution by approving "desirable ranges" for each member state. The Secretary-General prepared a report to the twenty-second session concerning the composition of the Secretariat, which indicated that a number of steps had been taken towards achieving the equitable balance required. Also, at the twenty-second session, the Committee considered the question of working languages within the Secretariat. The Canadian delegation played an active part, along with other *francophone* countries, in the formulation of a successful resolution designed to increase the use of French in the Secretariat through the introduction of an accelerated language-instruction program. Discussions concerning the working languages of the Secretariat were continued at the twenty-third session, during which *francophone* delegations obtained the adoption of linguistic criteria for recruitment to and promotion within the Secretariat. An ability to use one of the working languages of the Secretariat was made the acceptable minimum language requirement for recruitment effective January 1, 1970, and promotion from one grade to another was, in most circumstances, made conditional upon an adequate and confirmed knowledge of a second official language of the General Assembly, effective January 1, 1972. It is expected that the Secretary-General will, in the course of his report to the twenty-sixth session, comment on the implementation of this resolution.

The use of Russian and Spanish in the United Nations was also discussed at the twenty-fourth session and the General Assembly adopted a resolution making Russian a working language of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and Spanish a working language of the Security Council. This resolution can be expected to lead to an increased use of these languages in the Secretariat.

During the twenty-fifth session, Canada's Permanent Representative, together with the Permanent Representatives of Belgium, Senegal and Tunisia, and a representative of the French Permanent Mission, made representations to the Secretary-

General on the imbalance existing between the use of French and English in the Secretariat, and in particular the Office of Public Information, which resulted in action to provide certain Office of Public Information services in French.

## **Sixth Committee**

### **Report of International Law Commission**

The International Law Commission (ILC), a United Nations organ composed of 25 legal experts elected in their personal capacities to represent the various legal systems of the world for the purpose of the codification and progressive development of international law, will report to the session on the work of its twenty-third session, held in Geneva from April 26 to July 30, 1971. The program of work of the Commission included consideration of the following topics:

- (1) Relations between states and intergovernmental organizations;
- (2) succession of states and governments;
- (3) state responsibility;
- (4) most-favoured-nation clause;
- (5) treaties concluded between states and international organizations or between two or more international organizations.

### **Question of Defining Aggression**

The attempt to arrive at a generally acceptable definition of aggression has been the subject of many efforts over a number of years within the ILC, as well as the General Assembly, the Sixth Committee and various special committees. To date it has not been possible to reach agreement on a definition. Canada is a member of the 35-country Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression set up under Resolution 2330 (XXII) "to consider all aspects of the question in order that an adequate definition might be prepared and to submit a report reflecting all views expressed and proposals made". The Committee met from February 1 to March 5, 1971, and will report to the General Assembly this session. In 1969 Canada co-sponsored a draft definition of aggression directed towards ensuring that the Charter principles would be upheld and that the Security Council's special responsibility would be recognized. Definitions have also been submitted by the U.S.S.R. and by the Latin American non-aligned delegations.

### **Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Appreciation of International Law**

During the eighteenth session in 1963, a UN special committee was established to elaborate practical methods for assisting member states, particularly those in developing areas, to promote a wider knowledge and appreciation of the principles of international law. A program of training in international law was established as one of the means to this end. A number of countries suggested that its cost be included in the regular United Nations budget. Canada and some other states opposed this and recommended that the program be financed by voluntary contri-



butions. A compromise was eventually arrived at under which it is to be financed partly by the United Nations and partly by voluntary contributions.

The Canadian International Development Agency does not specifically make available any scholarships in this field through the United Nations; however, the Agency is prepared to give the closest attention to any applications from students of developing countries for the study of international law in Canadian universities on the basis of bilateral programs with respect to particular developing countries.

### **UN Conference on the Law of Treaties**

The diplomatic conference which adopted the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties also adopted a number of declarations and resolutions, three of which are to be brought to the attention of the General Assembly.

The Declaration on Universal Participation in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties invited the General Assembly to examine at its twenty-fourth session the question of issuing invitations in order to ensure the widest possible participation in the Convention. The signature and accession articles of the Convention incorporate the "Vienna formula", which restricts membership in international agreements to states members of the United Nations, or any of the Specialized Agencies, or of the International Atomic Energy Agency, or parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice and any other state invited by the UNGA to subscribe to the multilateral instrument concerned. Consequently the issue raised by this Declaration is whether entities claiming to be states but not generally recognized as such (e.g., East Germany) are to be invited by the General Assembly to adhere to the Convention.

In the Sixth Committee at the twenty-fourth session it was decided to defer consideration of the Declaration on Universal Participation for one year. The twenty-fifth session again deferred the matter for another year and therefore the twenty-sixth session is likely to be faced with the issue as to whether the General Assembly is to formally invite states (or entities not recognized as states) which do not fall within any of the four categories in the "Vienna formula" to become parties to the Treaties Convention.

### **UN Commission on International Trade Law**

UNCITRAL was established by resolution of the General Assembly in 1966. The role of the Commission is to promote the development, unification and codification of private law regulating international trade and the harmonization of international trade practice. Canada, while not a member, follows the Commission's work and will be reviewing the report of the Commission's fourth session, held in Geneva from March 29 to April 20, 1971. The report will deal with matters related to international sales transactions, the law relating to international sale of goods, international payments and arbitration and international shipping legislation.

### **Role of ICJ**

In July 1970, a request was made by nine member states of the UN, including Canada, for inclusion of an item entitled "Review of the Role of the International Court of Justice" on the agenda of the twenty-fifth UNGA. An explanatory memorandum accompanying the request recommended that a study be undertaken of obstacles to the satisfactory functioning of the Court, including an exploration of additional possibilities for more extensive use of the ICJ. The General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to seek the view of the UN member states and states parties to the Statute of the ICJ, by means of a questionnaire to be completed by them. Canada's reply to the questionnaire was forwarded on July 15, 1971. In addition to a number of specific recommendations, Canada reiterated its position in favour of an *Ad Hoc* Committee to be established for the purpose of undertaking the type of study envisaged in the nine-power proposal of 1970. The Secretary-General will report on the results of the questionnaire to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

### **International Treaty Concerning the Moon**

In a letter made public June 8, 1971, the Soviet Foreign Minister informed the UN Secretary-General of the desire of his country for the inclusion of such an item on the agenda of the XXVI UNGA. He stated that neither the 1967 UN Outer Space Treaty nor the 1968 Treaty on Rescue and Return of Astronauts dealt in sufficient detail with certain problems likely to be encountered specifically in relation to activities on the moon; he indicated that the Soviet draft treaty was aimed at further refinement of international law regulating such activities.

# *Nuclear Energy and World Peace*

SPEECH BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP, TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY, IN GENEVA, ON SEPTEMBER 6, 1971.

IT is an honour for me and for my country that I should be the first foreign minister to address one of these important conferences. Canada has a long experience in the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, going back to the late 1940s. The decision to concentrate our resources on this aspect of nuclear science is one we have never regretted and that through the years has enjoyed the support of an overwhelming majority of the Canadian people.

Sixteen years have passed since the first of these conferences opened in this hall. That first conference in 1955 caught the attention of the world and gave rise to great expectations. Until then the words "atomic energy" brought to mind only the mushroom cloud, the firestorm and the helplessness of man in face of this new catastrophic weapon. Until 1955 only a few scientists knew of the technical accomplishments and positive possibilities that had been shrouded in secrecy. It was here, in this Palais des Nations, that the veils were torn away and the world saw that man could use his new knowledge and this new power source as well for his betterment as for his destruction.

The new expectations of 1955 were balanced, perhaps overbalanced, by man's continuing fear of the nuclear-weapons race. The public heard about the more fascinating uses of isotopes and about the prospects for megawatts of electrical power, generated by atomic energy. But for most of the next decade much more was heard about megatons and "megadeaths" than about megawatts. "Fall-out" was the new plague to be feared and ICBMs were targeted on many of the world's great cities and still are. To the age-old fears of war and oppression was added a new fear, of instant widespread destruction brought about by the pressure of a finger on a button, bringing into doubt the capacity of statesmanship and diplomacy to keep the peace.

In more recent years, our fears seem to have diminished. This is the normal human reaction to an ever-present threat; the farmer who tills the slopes of a volcano year after year learns to stop worrying about an eruption that may never come. Our fears have been lulled by our recognition that the two great military powers of the world are for the time being in a state of equilibrium, an equilibrium that neither can disrupt without risking its own and possibly mankind's destruction.

Canada welcomes the initiatives taken by the United States and the Soviet Union towards strategic arms limitation, the SALT talks. The two nuclear powers



have begun to carry out their obligations under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The task they have undertaken is both complex and difficult. The joint announcement by the United States and the Soviet Union on May 20 last that they had reached an understanding in principle to concentrate this year on working out an agreement for the limitation of the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems and that together with this ABM systems agreement they would agree on certain measures with respect to the limitation of offensive strategic weapons is heartening evidence of progress. We shall all watch with eager anticipation their efforts to translate this understanding into concrete agreements in the coming months. It is to be hoped that the SALT agreements will include measures to curtail the nuclear-arms race in its qualitative as well as its quantitative aspects.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty which came into force on March 5, 1970, and the safeguarding procedures that have been recently worked out by the International Atomic Energy Agency's Safeguards Committee offer some hope that the further spread of nuclear weapons will be limited. The solemn declarations of states party to the Treaty to renounce this kind of military force and their agreement to allow international personnel to inspect their nuclear installations justify a cautious optimism. There are, however, states that have not signed the Treaty and its effectiveness will be diminished if some important nuclear and so-called "near-nuclear" nations continue to stand aside. I am pleased to announce today that our negotiations are proceeding favourably and that Canada expects to conclude the safeguards agreement with the Agency before the end of the year.

The measure of confidence arising out of the Non-Proliferation Treaty will be strengthened if it is brought into smooth and effective operation. The states that have renounced nuclear weapons have done so in the belief that their own interests are best served by this renunciation; they recognize that they have less to fear from others when they show that others have nothing to fear from them. The mutual trust and confidence born of this renunciation will endure only to the extent that these same states now co-operate with the International Atomic Energy Agency and its inspectors in the operation of safeguards.

### **Nuclear Housekeeping**

All of us must keep carefully-audited records of our production, movement and consumption of fissionable materials if we are to feel confident that we have good internal control. The records that we need for good housekeeping at home fulfil most, if not all, of the requirements for international inspection. For this reason, I do not believe that safeguards impose a great new burden. I know that some organizations fear that in submitting to detailed inspections their commercial secrets might be compromised, but the real commercial secrets lie in unaffected areas, such as the design and manufacture of components, and these fears are exaggerated. It is now in the interests of each state to be generous in its co-operation with the Agency's inspectorate and to demonstrate to the rest of the world community that its intentions are wholly peaceful.

The peace of the world may not be quite as precarious as it was a few years ago, but the dangers are still real. The Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 has stopped many — but by no means all — of the nuclear explosions that contaminate our atmosphere. To some extent this Treaty can be looked upon as a major public-health measure rather than as arms control. Our newspapers no longer give us those daily fallout readings to remind us that nations are developing nuclear weapons to even higher levels of effectiveness. But the testing goes on underground — this kind of activity has accelerated since the signing of the Partial Test Ban — and the development of ever more sophisticated nuclear weapons continues.

With these realities in mind, many states of the world, including Canada, have concluded that the time is ripe for a renewed and determined effort to achieve a ban on underground nuclear tests as an extension of the Partial Test Ban of 1963. Seismological investigation, investment in improved facilities, and the possibility of international co-operation in seismic-data exchange have all begun to give grounds for believing that adequate seismological methods of discriminating between underground nuclear explosions and natural seismic events can be found. Problems and ambiguities remain — particularly with explosions of extremely low yield, where verification trails off into the realm of the improbable. But the potential for seismological identification has sharply narrowed and made more manageable the issue of on-site inspections that has for too long bedevilled efforts to achieve an underground-test ban.

The verification problem is in the last analysis a political rather than a technical question, and in our view, as well as that of a very large number of non-nuclear nations, the time has come for the two major nuclear powers to take up their efforts to resolve this problem where they left off eight years ago. At the same time, we should not ignore the desirability of all nuclear powers adhering to the Moscow Treaty and joining with others in an effort that would lead to a complete ban on all nuclear tests. Until such a ban can be reached I urge the two major nuclear powers to scale down their underground tests, starting with the biggest.

### **Non-Representation of China**

As I address you today I am aware — uneasily aware — of the fact that a quarter of mankind, the people of China, is unrepresented amongst us. I accept the assurance of Mr. Chou En-lai that Chinese intentions are peaceful but I am sure we will all be happier when the representatives of that ancient civilization and powerful modern state are taking part in our deliberations rather than observing them in silence. Canada will do all it can to ensure that this is the last conference on nuclear energy in which a quarter of mankind — and a nuclear power — goes unrepresented.

In the 16 years since our first conference in 1955, nuclear scientists and engineers have forged ahead. In most situations, large quantities of electricity

can now be produced by the fission of uranium as cheaply as by burning coal or oil. Fears of a world energy crisis have been postponed, perhaps for centuries. It is now our task to apply the technology that has been developed to bring to all men a supply of energy sufficient to meet their needs. The technology is ready, the world needs electricity, and we can expect to see a continuing shift away from new fossil-fuel stations toward new nuclear stations.

### **Atomic Energy Indispensable**

A great and exhausting debate has been raging between those who question the safety of nuclear-power plants and those who defend them. The emotion generated by this discussion must not be allowed to conceal the essential facts of the situation. The nuclear industry has an outstanding record of safe operation. No other industry — and this for obvious reasons — has been as conscious of its obligations to protect its workers, the public and the environment itself. In a world in which everyone every day is exposed to innumerable hazards, we must keep a sense of proportion. Man would be foolish indeed to deny himself a source of energy that he sorely needs. This planet has yielded up the fossil fuels that permitted us to launch our industries. But fossil fuels cannot sustain us through the centuries, and I say this in the full realization that mankind may have to learn to limit its energy consumption. When we consider the risks of nuclear power, we must also weigh against them the risks that will arise if we turn away from nuclear power. Not only the risks that arise from the alternatives that we can temporarily employ — coal, oil and gas — but also the risks that would arise were the nations, facing a global shortage of energy, to come into conflict over the sharing of what was left.

I do not wish to be misunderstood on this question. I do not suggest that problems do not exist or that they are capable of simple solutions — rather that they are capable of management at an acceptable cost if adequate resources are brought to bear.

Peace is more than the absence of war. To have peace we must build a world society in which man can express his personality and develop his potential without attacking his neighbour or coveting his goods. That is why nuclear fission has such a great contribution to make to the building of a peaceful world, and to the eradication of poverty. Substantial efforts have been made by the United Nations, by the International Atomic Energy Agency, and by individual countries in this great endeavour. My own country has played an important part by co-operating with developing countries in their own nuclear-power programs.

Perhaps it is well, however, to add a word of caution based upon our own experience. Nuclear energy is only a tool for economic development. It has its limitations. It is massively expensive. Only the richest and most highly industrialized countries can afford the experimentation that is essential to the development of the technology.

For example, the production of electricity from nuclear reactors has now



reached the state where it is possible to contemplate the building of large generating-stations wherever there is a demonstrable need for large amounts of electrical power, and where the power generated can be brought to bear effectively on the solution of existing problems. The questions is: how many developing countries can meet these criteria?

### **Multiple Uses of Atomic Power**

We have all heard of the “agro-industrial complex” and particularly the project that is under study in India. This would involve the use of nuclear power to pump deep-underground water to the surface for irrigation. As I understand it, nuclear power would also be used for the local production of fertilizer. If successful, such a complex would offer the potential for a major new step in the “green revolution” that has already had such beneficial effects in the Indian subcontinent. Its success could open an important new chapter in the story of man’s fight against hunger and malnutrition.

The application of nuclear energy to the large-scale de-salting of sea-water is another, and a more difficult, question. The need undoubtedly exists, and this could be the concept that will start new “green revolutions” in the deserts of the world. But just as nuclear energy is not always the most economical means of generating electricity, so we must be careful not to mislead peoples and governments into believing that the dream of de-salting sea-water is just about to become a reality.

In the course of the next days, you will devote much of your time to the large-scale use of atomic energy for the production of electricity and for the de-salting of sea-water. You will also consider the numerous applications of isotopes and radiation — in research, in industry, in agriculture and in medicine. There have been remarkable achievements, particularly with the new nuclear techniques for the diagnosis and treatment of cancer and of some of the other diseases that afflict mankind. You will seek to evaluate what contributions these can make to the improvement of life in the developing countries.

Isotopes and radiation are tools — their use is not an end in itself. We must, as I have said, identify what our aims are and then see whether atomic energy provides the best tool for achieving them. For example, the developing countries have a great need to find better ways of preventing the wastage of food in storage. Pests and various forms of decay destroy a large fraction of what is produced. Irradiation may help to conserve this food, but until this has been demonstrated and its economic feasibility established, better-known techniques — dehydration, canning or refrigeration — are still probably more appropriate in most situations.

Another problem is the provision of sterile medical supplies, often under adverse conditions remote from the facilities of modern hospitals. One technique is now well established: it involves first sealing medical supplies in hermetic packages and then irradiating them to ensure complete sterility. The supplies are

safe from any infection until the moment when the packages are opened — and, of course, this can be at the moment they are needed for use. I believe this technique is ready for immediate adoption in developing countries. It is best if the choices can be made in the developing countries themselves — by their own scientists and economists, their own *entrepreneurs*. To do this they must have their own centres of excellence, where innovators are encouraged and where proper evaluations can be made in relation to local needs and local priorities.

We have come to Geneva to discuss the silver lining of the nuclear cloud, a happy circumstance that does not permit us to disregard the cloud itself. The achievements and possibilities of the peaceful uses of atomic energy on which I have touched this afternoon justify a sense of pride and hope. Nevertheless, we are discussing a force that, if misused, has a destructive capacity difficult for any of us, scientist or layman, to comprehend fully.

Meeting here in this ancient and free city where so many of mankind's hopes for peace have centred, you constitute a body of expertise on nuclear questions that is unique. As I wish you well in your discussions of peaceful nuclear technology, I urge you to keep in mind your special responsibility to all mankind, and above all to the rising generations born into a nuclear world they did not make.

Today there is an equilibrium between the great nuclear powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. These powers are now seeking ways to limit the nuclear-arms race; I hope to find an equilibrium at a lower and less menacing level. I have suggested to you that China may soon be a nuclear power to be reckoned with. This will call for a new equilibrium, and the sooner China comes fully into the councils of the world, the better for us all.

So I leave with you this thought. The peoples of the world need the energy and other benefits that nuclear science has to offer. They accept reluctantly the mutual balance of nuclear deterrence that offers them a measure of security. But many of those without the special knowledge and expertise you enjoy look upon nuclear energy as inherently dangerous and threatening, like a half-domesticated beast. You, ladies and gentlemen, as the managers of nuclear knowledge and technology, are uniquely equipped to bring home to your governments, directly and by moulding world public opinion, their responsibility to see to it that the beast is fully domesticated and kept at useful work for the benefit of all.

# *International Civil Aviation Organization*

TRIENNIAL MEETING. VIENNA

THE International Civil Aviation Organization, which has its headquarters in Montreal, held the eighteenth session of its Assembly in Vienna from June 16 to July 7 at the invitation of the Austrian Government. The Assembly of ICAO normally meets every three years to review the Organization's work and to establish its program and budget. However, since the sixteenth session, which met in Buenos Aires in 1968, ICAO has held two extraordinary Assemblies: the seventeenth session, which convened in Montreal in June 1970 to consider measures to prevent and deter hijacking and other acts of unlawful interference against international civil aviation; and a special session (17A) in New York in March 1971 to amend the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation, the constitution of the Organization, for the purpose of enlarging the Council of ICAO.

The eighteenth Assembly, which elected Dr. Karl Fischer of Austria as its president, had a record attendance, with participation by 113 of the 120 contracting states of ICAO. The head of the Canadian delegation was Dr. T. G. How,



*Dr. T. G. How, Senior Ministry Executive of the Ministry of Transport and chief delegate of Canada to the eighteenth ICAO Assembly (centre), consults with Mr. H. Gourdeau, representative of Canada on the Council of ICAO, at the beginning of a plenary session of the Assembly, held in the historic Hofburg, Vienna. Behind Dr. How is seated Mr. R. Azzie of the Canadian Transport Commission.*



Senior Ministry Executive — Special Projects, Ministry of Transport, assisted by delegates from the Canadian Transport Commission, the Department of External Affairs and the Ministry of Transport.

### **Elections**

One of the first obligations of an ICAO Assembly is to hold elections to the 27-member Council, giving adequate representation to three categories: states of chief importance in international civil air transport, states providing facilities to international civil aviation, and states whose designation will ensure representation of all major geographic areas of the world. Canada, a founding member of ICAO, has consistently been elected as a state of chief importance in air transport. It ranked fourth among ICAO member states for total operations (passengers, cargo and mail) performed on scheduled air-services in 1970. At the Vienna Assembly, Canada was again elected to this category, receiving 108 votes, the largest number cast for any state. Elected to the Council for the first time was the U.S.S.R., whose membership in ICAO became effective in November 1970.

The Assembly discussed the possibility of holding elections, on a provincial basis, to fill the three additional seats that would be added to the Council when the amendment to the Chicago Convention, adopted by the New York extraordinary session, came into effect. It was, however, decided that such elections should not be held until the required number of ratifications had been received.

In reviewing ICAO's activities and establishing its programs for the next three-year period, the Assembly considered a broad range of agenda items dealing with technical, economic, legal and administrative matters. As the Specialized Agency within the UN family of institutions responsible for the safe, orderly and economic development of international civil aviation, ICAO is affected by events of an economic, political and social nature, as well as by technological advances.

### **Technology versus Environment**

A major item considered by the Assembly was the role of civil aviation in the relation between technological advancement and the human environment. ICAO has done work in this field for a number of years, notably studies of the application of technology to the reduction of aircraft noise — especially sonic boom. The Assembly decided that ICAO should submit a major study of environmental problems to the 1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment, to be held in Stockholm. The Assembly also requested the Council "to continue with vigour" its work related to the development of standards dealing with the quality of the environment and urged states to adopt such measures.

Technical issues before the Assembly included systems-planning, problems arising out of leases, charters and interchange of aircraft in international operations, and satellites in air navigation. Also related to the technical work was a

decision to amend the Chicago Convention to enlarge the Air Navigation Commission (which, like the Council, meets throughout the year in Montreal) from 12 to 15 members. The Commission elaborates regulations and recommends practices for the safe navigation of civil aviation.

In the economic sphere, the Assembly reviewed the continuing program of air-transport activities, including regional activities. It also decided that the Council should examine the feasibility of studying air-transport fares and rates, with which the International Air Transport Association (IATA) had indicated its willingness to co-operate.

### **Unlawful Interference**

The Assembly reviewed ICAO's progress with the problem of unlawful interference with international civil aviation. As a result of the seventeenth Assembly (extraordinary) in Montreal in 1970, ICAO has in the advance stages of preparation an aviation security manual designed to assist states in taking all measures to prevent and deter hijacking and other acts of unlawful interference and to minimize their effect. With respect to its legal work in the field of unlawful interference, ICAO has achieved rapid progress in elaborating an international legal system. It has already adopted two conventions (the 1963 Tokyo Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft and the 1970 Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, known as the Hijacking Convention). ICAO has called a diplomatic conference to be held in Montreal in September of this year, which is expected to adopt the Draft Convention on Acts of Unlawful Interference against International Civil Aviation prepared by the Legal Committee. This new instrument will deal with sabotage and other acts of unlawful interference not covered by the two earlier instruments.

Under a review of the work of the ICAO Legal Committee, the Assembly decided that the Committee's first priority should be to study questions related to "containerization" — specifically, the implications for civil aviation of the Draft Convention on International Combined Transport of Goods (TCM), which is to be adopted at the 1972 UN Conference on International Container Traffic. In this context, the Assembly decided that priority should no longer be accorded to a study arising from two resolutions presented separately by Canada and the United States and adopted by the Council on October 1, 1970, concerning possible methods of enforcement of international instruments in the case of unlawful interference with civil aviation. The work of a legal subcommittee, which first met in Montreal in April of this year, will, therefore, be suspended for the present. The Canadian delegation opposed this decision on the ground that ICAO must explore every avenue in order to find means to combat effectively this grave threat to the security of international civil aviation.

The Assembly approved a record budget of \$35,652,800 (U.S.) for the 1972-74 financial period, of which \$28.7 million (U.S.) will be assessed to ICAO

member states. The amount of the budget reflects the increasing demands on ICAO in its field of competence. Costs arising from ICAO's work in the field of technical assistance are not included under the regular budget, as these are funded by the United Nations Development Program, the source of most UN development financing, to which members contribute on a voluntary basis. A major new item in the budget arises from the Assembly's decision to adopt Russian as an ICAO language in addition to English, French and Spanish. This decision, following the recent Soviet assumption of membership, recognizes the importance of Russian as a language in the UN system and in civil aviation.

An important budgetary question was the scale of assessments of member states for the period 1972-74. The Assembly decided that both the minimum and maximum contributions should be reduced in order that all states should receive a reduction in their percentage assessment to share the benefit of the contributions of four new members, including the Soviet Union, which had come into the Organization since the last regular Assembly. The assessment of the state at the maximum (the U.S.A.) was not, however, reduced as much as was originally proposed, as this was a divergence from the UN scale of assessments, to which the ICAO scale is closely related.

An item of particular importance to Canada concerned premises for ICAO headquarters in Montreal. The Assembly had before it a report of the Secretary-General, Dr. Assad Kotaite, on the action completed under a resolution of the sixteenth Assembly that ICAO should seek new headquarters premises in Montreal, the existing facilities having become inadequate for the Organization's needs. The ICAO Council, after studying various alternatives, selected accommodation in downtown Montreal, which is expected to be occupied in 1973. To help ICAO secure this new and improved accommodation, the Canadian Government has agreed to make a grant of \$1.1 million annually to the Organization.<sup>(1)</sup> The Assembly adopted a resolution expressing its appreciation and gratitude to the Canadian Government for its financial assistance, as well as for having provided the services of experts from the Department of Public Works during the Organization's study of alternative proposals.

A difficult issue before the Assembly arose from Resolutions 2555 (XXIV) and 2704 (XXV) of the United Nations General Assembly, concerning racial policies in Africa. A resolution initiated by the African states was adopted by the Assembly to the effect that South Africa should not be invited to ICAO meetings except those specifically provided for under the Chicago Convention and should not be provided with certain documentation of the Organization. This resolution was extremely controversial, many delegations considering that it was unconstitutional and contrary to the purpose of ICAO to promote the safe, orderly and economic development of international civil aviation. A similar resolution on Portugal was defeated.

<sup>(1)</sup> See article entitled "ICAO Secretary-General in Ottawa," May 1971 issue, Pp. 190-91.



# *Humanitarian Law of Armed Conflict*

RED CROSS CONFERENCE, GENEVA

"The aim has been attained. We have taken measure of the possibilities open to us. It is possible to enlarge on existing humanitarian law. It is possible to convoke a diplomatic conference. It is both possible and necessary to formulate viable rules applicable in situations of modern warfare." In these words, Mr. Jean Pictet, Vice-President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), summed up the work of a conference of government experts from some 40 countries on the reaffirmation and development of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflict. This conference, which took place in Geneva from May 24 to June 12, 1971, was the third step in a series of consultations being held by the ICRC pursuant to a resolution sponsored by Canada and adopted at the last International Red Cross Conference, held in Istanbul in 1969. Canada continues to be highly concerned with international humanitarian law, and was represented in Geneva by a delegation composed of senior officers from the Legal Operations Division of the Department of External Affairs and the Office of the Judge-Advocate General of the Department of National Defence.

The Canadian delegation was specially interested in the possibility of building upon the existing 1949 Geneva Conventions, extending wherever possible, by means of protocols to these Conventions, the protection now afforded prisoners of war and certain categories of wounded, sick and disabled participants in armed conflicts. Of particular concern was the fact that the four existing Conventions, through their common Article 3, afforded only marginal protection to participants in, and those affected by, non-international conflict situations, and it was the hope of the Canadian experts that concrete beginnings could be made toward obtaining international agreement on a basic minimum of humanitarian treatment that could be applied to all situations of internal armed conflict.

## **Working Commissions**

The conference divided its work among four commissions, the first of which was charged with examining the problem of treatment and protection of the wounded and sick in both international and non-international conflicts. Two draft protocols to the Geneva Conventions were studied and agreed upon by this commission. One would have the effect of extending protection afforded under the first Convention to include a wider spectrum of wounded and disabled victims, medical personnel, equipment and establishments in international conflicts; the second would extend where appropriate a measure of protection to similar categories of person involved in and affected by non-international armed conflicts.

The second commission, chaired by Canada, has as its task an examination

of the possibility of extending the general body of international law of armed conflict to cover certain non-international situations, including guerilla warfare. Canada presented for study by the conference a draft protocol to the Geneva Conventions that would not only incorporate most of the measures agreed upon in the first commission but would also extend the scope of applicability and the nature of protection guaranteed all participants in, and victims of, internal conflicts.

Although an encouraging number of countries expressed interest in the approach embodied in this Canadian initiative, there remain significant political difficulties inherent in any attempt to define "internal" or "guerilla" warfare. Until these difficulties are overcome, work will proceed slowly toward acceptance of the premise that a basic minimum of humanitarian protection, which could take into account sensitive principles of sovereignty, should be afforded all persons participating in or affected by all kinds of armed conflict.

The third commission, which considered the question of protecting civilian populations against the dangers of hostilities, prepared a comprehensive report reflecting the various and sometimes divergent views of delegations. It examined the role of humanitarian law in seeking to prohibit certain types of weapon and methods of warfare and, by attempting to make distinction between civilian and military personnel and targets, strove to define the scope of protection to be afforded each category.

The fourth commission considered steps that could be taken to reaffirm and ensure the implementation of existing international humanitarian law. No precise conclusions were reached, and the commission will continue its studies with a view to formulating a questionnaire which could be circulated for comment to governments.

The deliberations and conclusions of the experts were purely consultative in nature, and did not reflect official views of their governments. They did, however, reflect a wide range of agreement on the essential need for a strong reaffirmation of existing humanitarian law and a rapid development of that law to meet the exigencies of modern conflict situations. The conclusions, recommendations and reports of this conference will be submitted to governments during the next year for study and comment.

It is expected that next spring a further conference of government experts will be convened to examine these comments, and thereafter to formulate recommendations which can be submitted to a full diplomatic conference some time in 1973. At that time it is hoped that firm and effective decisions will be adopted by the international community to give a much needed reaffirmation and extension to the existing humanitarian law of armed conflict.

# *World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing*

THE Canadian Government recently organized the World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing (with emphasis on the needs of developing countries), which was held at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, from July 5 to 16, 1971. Canada agreed to act as host for the conference at the request of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), which was a co-sponsor with the United Nations Centre for Housing, Building and Planning (UNCHBP) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). The International Union of Forestry Research Organizations (IUFRO) also collaborated in the preparation of the technical discussions. All members of the United Nations and of the FAO were invited to send delegations.

Four or five years ago, the notion of an international meeting to investigate the increased use of wood products to alleviate the world-wide housing problem was conceived by the Forestry Department of the FAO. The idea gained the interest and support of IUFRO and the remaining co-sponsors, including UNIDO, after it had been established.

From the outset Canada was most receptive because it recognized its historic involvement in forest-products trade. Furthermore, the domestic use of wood in housing on a large scale in this country led Canadians to believe that they might be instrumental in the transmission of advice in this field to others. The choice of Vancouver as the site of the conference was not difficult, as British Columbia derives 80 per cent of its revenue from forest products in one form or another.

In Canada the range of support was also very broad, and included the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the National Research Council, the Canadian International Development Agency and the Canadian Forestry Service of the Department of the Environment, as well as the Department of External Affairs. Representatives of these agencies, together with the international organizations previously mentioned, worked together for two years to prepare the program and establish the organizational plans.

## **Aims of Consultation**

It was hoped that the meeting would provide a forum for all participating countries to discuss mutual problems and to impart and exchange information with the object of increasing or extending the use of wood in residential construction. If successful, it would assist in making housing authorities more aware of the important role wood could play in construction of housing and thus in helping to raise living standards in many countries throughout the world. In view of the





*To open the exhibition in the Thunderbird Winter Sports Centre, Vancouver, held in conjunction with the World Consultation on the Use of Wood in Housing, Mr. Bruce Howard, M.P., saws through a scantling steadied at one end by Mr. H. Cotton of Information Canada/Expositions and at the other by a hostess. Holding Mr. Howard's jacket is Dr. D. R. Redmond, Director, Forest Relations Directorate, Canadian Forestry Service.*

great demand for housing facilities in the Third World, it was decided to place particular emphasis on the problems of housing in developing countries.

As a complementary feature to the Consultation, an exhibition was scheduled in the Thunderbird Winter Sports Centre during the meeting, with the theme "Meeting the World's Housing Needs — With Wood". Five countries and three international organizations chose to display exhibits and during the tour more than 20 films were shown to capacity audiences.

Canada's western forest resources and lumber, plywood and home-building industries were the subject of a five-day study tour following the Consultation. The tour, which began on July 18, included some 60 delegates, mainly representatives of developing countries, who travelled by bus through Canada's Rocky Mountains to Calgary, stopping along the way to see lumber-mills and home-building plants in operation and to attend seminars before returning to Vancouver by aircraft.

The Consultation was ceremonially opened by the Honourable Jack Davis, Minister of the Environment, who welcomed the delegates. Mr. Stéphane Hessel, Assistant Administrator of the United Nations Development Program, addressed the conference on behalf of the remaining co-sponsors, and Mr. W. H. Gage, the President of the University of British Columbia, welcomed the 311-odd delegates from 57 countries to the university grounds.

The impact of the Consultation was appropriately described in the closing remarks of a native of Vancouver, Mr. P. G. Vakomies, FAO Director of the Forest Industries and Trade Division, who spoke on behalf of three UN agencies that co-sponsored the Consultation:

From the point of view of the three United Agencies here, it is naturally important to establish where they should go from here and how they should promote technically, economically and socially sound development of wood-based housing for basic dwelling needs.

As you probably know, this is the first year of the second Development Decade proclaimed at the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The intensified use of natural resources such as forests is one of the major objectives of the second Development Decade, and consequently this gives us a special mandate to increase our efforts to utilize still non-productive forest resources. At the same time, we are faced with the dilemma of sub-standard housing even in wood-rich countries. As you know, and have discussed here, there are many social, psychological, financial and technical reasons for this unfortunate situation. In broad terms it is clearly our duty to tackle all those and other obstacles, but can we do it, and how?

As if in response to Mr. Vakomies' challenge, the Consultation adopted several recommendations for future action, among which was one to establish a central co-ordinating unit under a United Nations agency to deal with problems relating to the use of wood in housing. As contemplated, its function would be to provide information, solve specific problems, ensure liaison and co-operation, and provide support for appropriate development projects of other institutions.



## STATE VISIT OF GOVERNOR GENERAL TO BELGIUM



*In the Royal Palace in Brussels, the King and Queen of the Belgians prepare to receive guests attending a state dinner: left to right — Princess Paola; Prince Albert of Liège; Queen Fabiola; Mrs. Roland Michener; King Baudouin; Governor-General Roland Michener. In the background are members of the official party.*

## CONFERENCES

Seventeenth Commonwealth Parliamentary Association General Conference: Kuala Lumpur, September 3-18

Fourth United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, September 6-16

Japan-Canada Ministerial Committee Meeting: Toronto, September 13-14

Canada-Tunisia Joint Commission: Tunis, September 20-22

Commonwealth Finance Ministers Meeting: Nassau, September 23-24

Fifteenth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency: Vienna, September 23-30



## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Miss E. V. Stearn retired from the Public Service, effective May 1, 1971.
- Miss M. L. Reid resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective May 27, 1971.
- Mr. G. A. Calkin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, effective May 29, 1971.
- Mr. J. D. Duinker appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Mr. J. P. Hubert appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Mr. J.-P. Picard appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1971.
- Mr. T. B. B. Wainman-Wood, Canadian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, posted to Ottawa, effective June 12, 1971.
- Mr. R. M. Middleton posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective June 14, 1971.
- Mr. J. J. B. M. Bélanger posted from the Canadian Embassy, Yaoundé, to the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, effective June 18, 1971.
- Mr. E. Gorn posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa, effective June 18, 1971.
- Mr. W. M. M. Fairweather posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective June 18, 1971.
- Miss J. E. Weiss retired from the Public Service, effective June 22, 1971.
- Mr. D. N. Coyle posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bangkok, effective June 23, 1971.
- Miss M. Hyndman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective June 23, 1971.
- Mr. M. Zazulak appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Legal Adviser 1, effective June 24, 1971.
- Mr. C. J. Dagg posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, effective June 26, 1971.
- Mr. G. F. Bruce posted from the National Defence College, Kingston, to Ottawa, effective June 28, 1971.
- Mr. J. A. A. S. Marcoux posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, effective June 30, 1971.
- Mr. R. M. Bennett transferred from the Department of External Affairs to the Ministry of Transport, effective June 30, 1971.
- Mr. P. Nyznik appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 5, effective June 30, 1971.
- Mr. J. McCord posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective July 1, 1971.
- Mr. H. L. Weidman posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective July 1, 1971.
- Mr. D. L. Smith appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 4, effective July 5, 1971.
- Mr. T. P. O'Connor posted from the Canadian Embassy, Addis Ababa, to Ottawa, effective July 6, 1971.

- Mr. L. A. Delvoie posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Algiers, effective July 6, 1971.
- Mr. M. A. Hendrick posted from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to Ottawa, effective July 9, 1971.
- Mr. G. J. Wilson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bangkok, to the Canadian Embassy, Tehran, effective July 10, 1971.
- Mr. J. D. Puddington posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, effective July 12, 1971.
- Mr. R. H. Davidson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, effective July 13, 1971.
- Miss A. M. Doyle posted from Ottawa to the delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective July 14, 1971.
- Mr. J. D. L. Rose posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective July 15, 1971.
- Mr. D. R. Hill posted from the Canadian High Commission, London, to Ottawa, effective July 15, 1971.
- Miss M. Dumoulin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective July 16, 1971.
- Miss J. Haworth posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, effective July 16, 1971.
- Mr. J. M. Weekes posted from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to Ottawa, effective July 16, 1971.
- Mr. J. M. J. Hughes posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective July 19, 1971.
- Mr. M. Careau posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bogotá, to Ottawa, effective July 20, 1971.
- Mr. J. O. Parry posted from the University of Toronto as Foreign Service Visitor for the academic year 1970-71 to Ottawa, effective July 20, 1971.
- Mr. W. J. Jenkins posted from Ottawa to the Canadian High Commission, Lagos, effective July 21, 1971.
- Mr. R. C. D. Looye posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the Office of the United Nations and to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, Geneva, to Ottawa, effective July 21, 1971.
- Miss M. J. Caskey posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective July 22, 1971.
- Mr. J. S. Roy posted from Laval University, Quebec City, as Diplomate Associé to the delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, effective July 22, 1971.
- Mr. D. M. Collacott posted from the Canadian Embassy, Peking, to the Office of the Canadian Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong, effective July 24, 1971.
- Mr. P. H. Chapin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, effective July 26, 1971.
- Mr. K. W. MacLellan posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to Ottawa, effective July 27, 1971.
- Mr. A. Dumas posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective July 29, 1971.
- Mr. J. G. Hadwen, Canadian High Commissioner to Malaysia, granted education leave at the University of Geneva. Mr. Hadwen left Kuala Lumpur July 31, 1971.
- Mr. J. R. C. Sirois posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, effective July 31, 1971.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Canada Views New U.S. Economic Policy*

*On September 23, 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau was interviewed on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation program "Encounter". He examined the motives behind the United States measures, the American image of Canada and the possible future actions and reactions of both countries, and indicated that a wide range of policy options were open to Canada, the advantages and disadvantages of which would have to be examined. Direct quotations follow from Mr. Trudeau's remarks:*

### **On Basic United States Policy**

We are trying to analyze whether the U.S.A. have made a fundamental change . . . I believe that they are legitimately just trying to correct their adverse trade balances, that they are really trying to solve a near crisis in their balance of payments, and that they are attacking it in a very drastic way. I do not think that the U.S. is deliberately trying to beggar its neighbours and make this into a permanent policy. But if it is, we will have to have a fundamental reassessment of our whole economy. We have developed in North America as good trading partners. We have assumed that their market was generally open to our producers and that a firm could settle in Canada or the U.S.A. and find both markets more or less open to it. If the Americans are now saying "Sorry Buster, but no longer will you Canadians be able to export manufacturing produce to us, we just want your natural resources", well, you know it is a new deal.

### **On the U.S. Attitude Toward Canada**

We did ask them to exempt us from the 10 percent surcharge. They have not. We have brought in this employment bill and we think that we will be able to prevent employment from falling in Canada as a result of the bill. Now if they countervail and they do not let us defend ourselves against their measures, then we will begin to assess our basic position. But as I have always said, I do not think that this is the basic American desire. I do not think that they know much or care much really about Canada . . . When the Americans look at what they are doing, they say "Well, you know we are doing this to the Japanese and we are doing this to the Europeans". They do not seem to realize what they are doing to Canadians. If they do realize what they are doing and if it becomes apparent that they just want us to be sellers of natural resources to them and buyers of their manufactured products — all these "ifs" — I repeat, we will have to reassess fundamentally our relations with them, trading, political and otherwise . . .

I said at the outset of this thing almost a month ago that we certainly did not want to start a trade war with the U.S.A. because if we did it would be at

very high cost to ourselves. But you know, they will have to realize that Canadians are also a proud nation. If they are really trying to rearrange the North American continent so that we are just a supplier of natural resources and that we will not be able to find jobs for our growing labour force and we will not be able to have an advanced technological society that we can manage ourselves, that is a very, very serious hypothesis. I do not think the Americans realize this or envisage it . . . .

### **On the Canadian Response**

You know there are all kinds of solutions or ways out or around this . . . perhaps a trade war which would make us very much poorer. At the other extreme you can envisage a common market, which perhaps would make us richer but much less independent politically. And between these there are all kinds of choices that the Canadians will have to make. If we can decipher what the Americans are doing, assuming they themselves can make it clear, then we will be able to discuss with the Canadian people what posture we must follow, and what posture we would advise them . . . . I would certainly want to make sure that President Nixon is aware of the dilemma he is creating for Canada in terms of our future orientation in this North American continent. I do not know if I would have to talk to him but I want to make sure that he knows.

### **On the Options Open to Canada**

There will be some disadvantages, with some options and some advantages. Whatever option we take will minimize the disadvantages and maximize the advantages. We are a free country; but we are one which is living beside a very powerful neighbour and we want to have good relations with it. No, I'm not pessimistic . . . .

## *Canadian and Japanese Ministers Confer*

*The following communiqué was issued at the end of the sixth meeting of the Japan-Canada Ministerial Committee in Toronto on September 13 and 14, 1971.*

\* \* \*

2. Canada was represented by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Edgar J. Benson, Minister of Finance, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Honourable J. J. Greene, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, the Honourable H. A. (Bud) Olson, Minister of Agriculture, the Honourable Ron Basford, Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and Mr. Herbert O. Moran, Ambassador to Japan.

Japan was represented by the Honourable Takeo Fukuda, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Mikio Mizuta, Minister of Finance, the Honourable Munenori Akagi, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the Honourable Kakuei Tanaka, Minister of International Trade and Industry, the Honourable Toshio Kimura, Minister of State and Director-General for Economic Planning, and Mr. Shinichi Kondo, Ambassador to Canada.

3. The ministers reviewed the general international situation, with emphasis on the situation in Asia and the Pacific area. The ministers also discussed the respective policies of both countries toward China, and agreed to continue to consult with each other.

Recognizing that the peace and prosperity of Asia have an important bearing on the peace and prosperity of the entire world, they agreed that the individual and co-operative efforts of developing Asian countries to improve their well-being need to be complemented by the developed nations. In this regard, the ministers agreed that further close consultations between the two governments would be maintained.

4. The ministers reviewed the economic situation in their respective countries.

Various aspects of the new economic policy recently announced by the United States were discussed extensively, with special emphasis on the impact on the world economy, as well as on the economies of the two nations, of the suspension of dollar convertibility and the imposition of the import surcharge by the United States. The Committee agreed that the stability and growth of the United States economy is vital to international stability and economic growth. The Committee noted that the United States surcharge endangers the multilateral trading framework, and adversely affects the exports of both nations. The Committee emphasized the need for the early removal of the United States surcharge. Serious concern was also expressed over the potential disruptive effects of the DISC proposal and over the proposed investment tax credit which would discriminate against foreign suppliers.





*The head of the Japanese delegation to the Toronto meeting of the Japan-Canada Ministerial Committee, the Honourable Takeo Fukuda, Minister for Foreign Affairs, addresses a meeting of the Committee. Seated beside Mr. Fukuda is Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, who headed the Canadian delegation.*

5. The Committee reviewed the international monetary situation. The Japanese ministers explained that the Japanese Government had recently adopted a flexible exchange-rate. The Canadian ministers pointed out that Canada already had a flexible exchange-rate and that there had been a substantial appreciation in the value of the Canadian dollar. The Committee agreed that, inasmuch as a stable and viable monetary situation was a prerequisite for the continued expansion of world trade, both countries should continue to consult closely and, within a multilateral framework, co-operate fully in international efforts directed towards overcoming present difficulties.

6. The Committee noted with satisfaction that the two countries had implemented the Kennedy Round tariff reductions ahead of schedule. The Committee emphasized the importance of strengthening the multilateral system of world

trade. The objective should be to move to a new round of trade liberalization at the earliest practicable date. The major trading countries should work together to this end both in the GATT and OECD. In this connection, it was agreed that it was particularly important at this time to maintain the momentum achieved by the Kennedy Round.

7. The ministers discussed the expansion of their respective development-assistance programs. The Committee noted that both countries were making progress in their respective ways in improving both the quality and quantity of their aid programs. It was agreed that the two countries should co-operate in their respective aid programs.

8. Japan-Canada trade has continued to expand, reaching a total in 1970 of 1.38 billion dollars (Cdn). All indications point to a continuing growth of this trade.

The Canadian ministers stressed the need for opportunities to diversify further Canadian exports to Japan, and particularly to increase exports of processed and manufactured goods, while continuing to develop Canada's traditional exports of foodstuffs and primary raw materials. The Japanese ministers pointed out that, as a result of progressive liberalization of imports, the number of tariff categories remaining under quotas, now numbering 60, would be reduced to 40 by the end of this month and that further liberalization of a number of items in the first half of 1972 was actively under study. The Canadian ministers welcomed such developments, and encouraged Japan to continue the liberalization of the remaining



*The Japanese and Canadian delegations face each other across the conference table in the opening session of the sixth meeting of the Japan-Canada Ministerial Committee in Toronto.*



import restrictions and other barriers to trade, particularly where they affect Canadian exports. The Committee expressed satisfaction that settlement had been reached recently in the annual bilateral discussions on the export restraints of some Japanese products to Canada. The Canadian ministers pointed to the importance of continued Japanese co-operation in the orderly marketing of Japanese exports to Canada and of avoiding trade diversion from other markets. The Japanese ministers, for their part, pointed out that export restraints, in any case, should be temporary measures and be dispensed with as soon as possible. The Committee agreed that anti-dumping procedures should be carried out in accordance with the International Anti-Dumping Code.

9. A Japanese Economic Mission to Canada led by Mr. Chujiro Fujino visited Canada in June of this year. A high-level Canadian business mission will visit Japan early in the new year.

10. The ministers explored common interests in the agricultural field and, in particular, the possibilities for further expansion of trade in agricultural products, including rapeseed and other products of interest to Canada. The possibility of longer-term supply arrangements was also discussed. They welcomed the increasing technical co-operation in this field and agreed it was desirable that Canadian and Japanese officials responsible for insect, disease and health protection regulations affecting agricultural products should meet from time to time to discuss problems arising out of each other's regulations.

11. The Committee agreed on the value of exchanging information on foreign investment policy. It welcomed the increase of capital investment both ways across the Pacific and the Canadian ministers noted recent Japanese progress in the liberalization of investment flows into Japan. The Canadian ministers indicated that a policy review was now being conducted with respect to foreign investment in Canada.

12. The Japanese ministers would welcome a Canadian mission to Japan this autumn to discuss ways and means of enhancing scientific and technological co-operation between the two nations. The Committee exchanged information on environmental matters and agreed to maintain contact in preparation for the forthcoming conference in Stockholm.

13. The Committee agreed to establish a sub-committee on resources and energy matters, composed of senior government officials, with the objective of keeping under continuous review developments in these sectors. The Committee took note of the increased importance of resources and energy matters in economic relations between the two countries as expressed by the mining mission to Japan headed by the Honourable J. J. Greene, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, in December 1970, when matters relating to trade in copper, coal, iron, uranium and other mineral commodities and the possibilities of further processing in Canada for the international market were discussed.

14. The Committee welcomed increased contact between the people of Canada and Japan in various fields, which was given added impetus by the successes of



Expos 67 and 70. The visit to Japan by the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, on the occasion of Expo 70 had symbolized the close relations between Canada and Japan in recent years.

15. The ministers agreed that the sixth meeting of the Committee had proved useful in providing for the exchange of views between the two sides in many matters of mutual concern and had thereby contributed to increased understanding and friendship between Japan and Canada.

16. The Committee accepted the invitation of the Japanese Government to hold its next meeting in Japan.



#### NEW PRESIDENT OF UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY TAKES OVER

*At the opening of its twenty-sixth regular session on September 21, 1971, the General Assembly of the United Nations elected as its President the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Adam Malik. Edvard Hambro, President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly and temporary President of the current one, hands the gavel to the new President. Looking on are: Secretary-General U Thant (left), C. A. Stavropoulos (right), Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs, and Sinan Korle (background), Chief of Protocol.*

## *Diplomatic Relations Established with Western Samoa*

ON June 11, 1971, it was announced that Canada and Western Samoa had agreed to the establishment of direct diplomatic relations and that Mr. J. A. Dougan, High Commissioner for Canada in New Zealand, would be concurrently High Commissioner for Canada in Western Samoa. Mr. Dougan presented his credentials in August to the head of state of Western Samoa, His Highness Malietoa Tanumafili II, at the official residence in the capital, Apia. He also presented a suitably-inscribed Indian wood-carving to mark the establishment of direct diplomatic relations.

Western Samoa became an independent sovereign state on January 1, 1962. It was formerly a United Nations Trusteeship Territory administered by New Zealand. In 1970 it decided to seek full membership in the Commonwealth and its application was approved on August 25 of that year. The country is made up of nine islands in central Polynesia in the South Pacific, with a total land area of some 1,090 square miles. Apia is on the island of Upolu. The population is slightly over 135,000.



*At Vailima, the official residence of the Western Samoan head of state and a former dwelling of Robert Louis Stevenson (whose portrait stands in the background on the mantel-piece), the Prime Minister of Western Samoa, the Honourable Tupua Tamasese Lealofi IV (left), and the Samoan head of state, His Highness Malietoa Tanumafili II (third from left), are photographed with the High Commissioner for Canada, Mr. J. A. Dougan, and Mrs. Dougan.*

Agriculture has formed the basis of Western Samoa's economy and seems likely to continue to play a most important role. The three major crops are coconuts (copra), cocoa and bananas.

Western Samoa has a strong, stable and democratic system of parliamentary government, a blend of Polynesian and British practices. The Constitution provides for a head of state whose functions are analogous to those of a constitutional monarch. He appoints the Prime Minister from among the members of the elected Assembly. The Executive consists of the Prime Minister, who is expected to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly, and eight other ministers selected by the Prime Minister.

The Legislative Assembly is composed of the Speaker and 46 Members; 45 Members of Parliament are elected in the traditional Samoan manner by holders of Matai (chiefs or heads of family) titles, of whom there are about 9,500 on the rolls; two Members represent those registered on the individual voters' roll and their election is by universal adult suffrage.

In the field of foreign affairs, Western Samoa is an independent and sovereign state but under a treaty of friendship between Western Samoa and New Zealand, signed a few months after Western Samoa became independent, New Zealand agreed to assist in the independent state's foreign relations "in such a manner as will in no way impair the rights of the Government of Western Samoa to formulate its own foreign policies". Western Samoa has chosen not to seek admission to the United Nations but has joined WHO, ECAFE, the Asian Development Bank and the South Pacific Commission. Under the Canadian International Development Agency, there are two Canadian teachers in Western Samoa this year.



## *Naval Visit to Rouen and Brest*

FOR many years, visits by Canadian warships to foreign countries have played an important role in promoting a knowledge of Canada and in reaffirming Canada's interest in the maritime countries of the world. The visit by HMCS *Ottawa*, Canada's only naval vessel designated as bilingual, to Rouen and Brest from May 13 to 1 of this year was part of this continuing program.

In co-operation with the Ambassador, Mr. Léo Cadieux, and officers of the Canadian Embassy in France, the officers and men of HMCS *Ottawa* accomplished a successful eight-day visit, the first to France in over a year.

In Rouen, the Ambassador and the Captain of the *Ottawa*, Commander Tremblay, met and had informal discussions with officials of the city. A number of books were presented to the municipal public library on behalf of the Government of Canada by Mr. Cadieux. The ship was opened to the public and many seamen gave up their leisure time to conduct guided tours for those who came on board. In return, the people of Rouen, some of whom had memories of Canadians who were there in 1944 during the liberation of France, opened their homes to many of the ship's crew, or led tours of the city and countryside. A group of citizens from Dieppe escorted some 40 seamen to view the Canadian cemetery, where



*HMCS Ottawa at Rouen*

approximately 1,000 Canadian soldiers were buried after the ill-fated raid during the Second World War.

After four days in Rouen, HMCS *Ottawa* sailed to Brest, where once again Mr. Cadieux and his party met the ship and continued their talks with civic and state officials. Another program of tours, receptions and dinners was organized and reciprocated by the captain and crew. The ship was again opened to the public and tours were given. Following four days in Brest, HMCS *Ottawa* sailed for her next port of call.

At least two important purposes were served by this voyage. It demonstrated to the local population the bilingual and bicultural nature of Canadian society, and it afforded Canadians the opportunity to strengthen further their historic ties with the people of France.

The visit of HMCS *Ottawa* is only one example of the many regular calls by Canadian ships at foreign ports. The co-operation between the ship's company and the Embassy illustrates the importance of such joint efforts by various government departments in furthering the objectives of Canadian foreign policy.

## *Canada's National Defence College*

CANADA's National Defence College, a rarely publicized and unintentionally, somewhat mysterious institution, observes its twenty-fifth anniversary this year. Based in Kingston's historic Fort Frontenac, the National Defence College (NDC) each year brings together some 30 to 35 senior military officers and civilians in an atmosphere conducive to the pursuit of knowledge and intellectual replenishment.

The students — or Course Members as they are called — collectively study, discuss and reflect on those aspects of domestic and international affairs which affect Canada's sovereignty, security, economic and social development. They travel together across Canada, meeting Government leaders in Ottawa and provincial capitals observing and discussing the nation's economic and social development. Working visits are made also to Washington and the United Nations in New York. Field studies take the NDC each year to European capitals and Asian, African and Latin American countries in the developing world. Foreign travel is made possible by the Transport Command of the Canadian Armed



*The entrance to Fort Frontenac, Kingston, Ontario, which houses Canada's National Defence College.*



Forces, which arranges necessary training flights to coincide with the College's travel schedule.

### **Greater Civilian Participation**

For the past quarter of a century the *raison d'être* and the course membership of the National Defence College have changed gradually as increasingly complex political, social and economic problems have imposed steadily mounting responsibilities on governments. As the study program broadened, the number of civilian participants from Government departments and non-official sectors increased steadily.

In Course XXV, which began in September, there were 18 Military Course Members and 17 civilians. The latter included a female academic nominated by Queen's University, two clergymen nominated by the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches and the Deputy Secretary of the Ontario Cabinet, in addition to representatives from the Departments of External Affairs, National Defence (civilian), Industry, Trade and Commerce, Supply and Services and Manpower and Immigration, and from the Canada Emergency Measures Organization, the Defence Research Board and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Each year the Governments of both the United States and Britain send four Members to the Course — three military officers and one diplomat.

### **Apex of the Pyramid**

The wide diversity of interests reflected in the current membership ensures stimulating results from the daily "putting-together of heads" that is at the core of the NDC's activities. Since military Course Members have graduated previously from staff colleges, the NDC is not called upon to give technical military training. Strategy in a broad sense, however, is a key element in the curriculum. As regards military education, the NDC is at the peak of the pyramid, based on the military colleges (Royal Military College, Royal Roads and Collège militaire royal de Saint Jean). The next step on the pyramid is formed by the staff colleges and training of military officers in universities. The mingling of civilian and military views on formulation and implementation of national policies is a key element in the Course studies at the National Defence College.

Methods of study at the NDC embrace lectures, discussions with lecturers, group or syndicate studies, preparation of reports and essays. The program of lectures by specialists from public and private life from Canada and abroad is an important part of the Course. After each lecture there is usually an opportunity to question the speaker and to discuss obscure and contentious points with him. Lecturers include federal and provincial cabinet ministers, senior military officers and public officials, representatives of foreign governments, university professors and outstanding authorities in the fields of industry, labour relations and the social sciences. A different lecturer outstanding in his field is usually heard every working day. Advantage is taken of the field studies in Canada and

abroad to hear from distinguished authorities in many fields who are unable to visit the College. The proximity of Kingston to Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal facilitates presentations by lecturers from universities in those cities. In Kingston, Queen's University provides a number of lecturers, particularly in the field of economics.

**The Four Terms**

The curriculum for Course XXV is divided into four terms. The first, entitled "Canadian Studies", lasts from September 7 to December 3. It encompasses a comprehensive examination of those factors, internal and North American, that



*Standing in front of the Bradstreet Block in Fort Frontenac, seat of Canada's National Defence College, the Commandant, Rear-Admiral S. Mathwin Davis, shows Members who will join Course XXV remnants of the Fort's original walls, preserved since 1673. Left to right: Mr. J. K. Drinkall, British Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Miss Flora MacDonald, Department of Political Studies, Queen's University — the first female member of the NDC; Rear-Admiral Davis; Mr. G. Cooke, United States State Department; Mr. G. G. J. D. Buick, Department of External Affairs.*

directly influence the Canadian Government. The second term, entitled "External Influences and Factors", lasts from December 5 to February 25 and from April 24 to June 9. It provides a broader view of the external factors that influence policy formulation in Canada, together with an assessment of the influences which Canada can exert on other nations. Term III, "Strategic and Military Studies", covers the period from February 28 to April 21. During it, Course Members will review the evolution of military strategy, stressing recent concepts and alternatives. They will analyze the strategies of the principal world powers and their influence on Canadian national strategy and on international relations. "A Final Review and Study of Specific Problems" is undertaken in Term IV, which covers the period from June 12 to July 27. The object of this term is to consolidate a deeper appreciation of the considerations and principles that must be comprehended in formulating forward-looking Canadian policies in the foreign, defence and related fields in the light of the experience and knowledge gained earlier in the Course. An introduction to program planning and budgeting, and to systems-analysis concepts open the term. With this brief but extensive exposure to methodology, there will be a final review of potential Canadian policies both from an idealistic viewpoint and with a recognition of specific national constraints, requirements and objectives.

Field studies are interspersed throughout the four terms. In the NDC visits abroad, the primary aim is to gain an understanding of the political, economic, sociological, and to some degree military situations in the countries visited — with special relationship to Canada as a whole.

The present Commandant of the NDC is a Canadian Forces sea-element officer of the rank of major-general, who has had a distinguished academic record (masters degrees in engineering, naval construction, public administration and international affairs) as well as an outstanding service career. The Deputy Commandant is an officer of the Department of External Affairs with experience as head of Canadian diplomatic missions in Asia and Africa. The Department of External Affairs has actively supported the NDC from its inception by providing members of the Directing Staff, Course Members and lecturers and by arranging the College's field studies. Other members of the Directing Staff are supplied by the Canadian Armed Forces. Collectively, the Commandant and Directing Staff are responsible for ensuring that all Course Members gain the maximum advantage from their sojourn at the NDC in the interests of their careers. Each study is assigned to a member of the Directing Staff who has primary responsibility for its preparation and supervision. Members of the Directing Staff counsel Course Members individually and in syndicates. Through the years, several former Course Members have returned to the NDC as members of the Directing Staff.



## *Iran Recalls its Ancient Origins*

To citizens of a country as young as Canada, with scarcely more than 100 years of continuous existence on record, two and one-half millenia of history must seem almost equivalent to eternity. Yet Iran is this year celebrating the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian empire. As the product of such a long historical development, Iranians not unnaturally, have a different perspective on this past from Canadians.

### **History**

Iranians still take great pride in, and feel close to, the glories of ancient Persia. The present Iranian monarch, His Imperial Majesty Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Shahanshah Aryamehr, traces his lineage back to the Achaemenian dynasty established by Cyrus the Great. Since that time, Iranian society has undergone many transformations. Under Cyrus' descendants, the Persian empire encompassed sections of Egypt and India, as well as all of Asia Minor. Later the Arabian Muslims, followed by the Turks and Mongols, inflicted severe depredations on Iranian society. Nevertheless, Persia retained a genius for absorption that enabled it to survive as an identifiable cultural entity that gained deserved renown for its creativity in the arts and sciences. Persian culture has demonstrated unsurpassed excellence in its skill at ornamentation, perhaps best known in the West in the form of superb carpets and monumental architecture.

The foundation of the Safavid Empire in the sixteenth century saw the beginnings of a resurgence of Persian political strength and cultural cohesion. However, like most Asian nations, Persia became politically weakened by the inroads of European imperialism, though it never had to submit to European conquest. The increasingly rapid infiltration of European ideas and values, combined with resentment of foreign domination, contributed to the "Resolution" of 1906 whereby the then Shah proclaimed a constitution granting a legislative assembly (the *Majlis*). In 1925, after three years as Prime Minister, Reza Shah the Great assumed monarchical powers. Thus was the Pahlavi dynasty founded. Under Reza Shah, the authority of the monarchy was considerably strengthened and oil-concession rights to European countries were renegotiated to obtain better terms for Persia. When the Second World War broke out, Persia declared its neutrality, but the task of fending off the contesting pressures of European powers in the strategic area became more difficult, and, in September 1942, after an allied invasion, Reza Shah abdicated in favour of his son, the present Shah. There followed a period of domestic political instability; but, beginning in 1953, internal political stability was progressively restored and relations with the European powers were improved. The Shah implemented a series of important social reforms, including intensive land redistribution and large-scale spending on education, public health and economic development.



## Iran Today

Iran now occupies a total land area of 628,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 30 million. Bordered by the U.S.S.R. on the north, Afghanistan and Pakistan to the east, Turkey and Iraq to the west and the Persian Gulf in the south, the country is located on an arid plateau constituting a land-bridge between the Fertile Crescent area of the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent. Persian is the common language of business and government and 98 per cent of the population is Muslim, almost all belonging to the Shiah sect. Almost 70 per cent of the labour force obtains its livelihood from agriculture, forestry and fishing.

Iran retains to this day the basic constitutional structures introduced in 1906. Politically it is a constitutional monarchy, with a bicameral legislature including a lower house elected by manhood suffrage. The present Shah continues to play a prominent role in formulation of government policy. Since the early 1960s, largely as a result of firm political leadership, wide-ranging social and economic reforms and increasing oil revenues (the refinery at Abadan is the largest in the world), Iran has achieved remarkable economic progress. During the years 1965-

1970, Iran's gross national product grew at an annual rate of over 10 per cent in the manufacturing sector, while *per capita* income increased by 40 per cent in the same five years.

Despite these advances — indeed, partly because of them — Iran will continue to be confronted with development challenges of great urgency. The need to narrow income disparities while striving to meet the aspirations of a rapidly-expanding urban middle class will undoubtedly be an important aim.

### **Canada and Iran**

Iran and Canada are nations of modest size, having important direct relations with much more powerful states and being highly dependent on their international trading relations. Both, therefore, have a high stake in the preservation of international stability through the use of international institutions, which enable the less-powerful nations to play an active role in international decision-making. As a result, Canada and Iran often find themselves working in close co-operation in various international forums in the pursuit of shared policy objects. Iran's expanding economy has made for an increasing mutual interest in promoting valuable commercial relations between the two countries. In 1970, Canada exported about \$8-million worth of goods to Iran, while imports from Iran, mostly in the form of crude petroleum, were valued at almost \$34 million. This trade is likely to increase significantly. Because of Iran's state of relative advancement in comparison with other developing nations, it does not have a bilateral development-assistance program with Canada, though it looks to Canada as an important source of capital equipment and technological expertise.

The expanding opportunities for mutually-advantageous co-operation between Canada and Iran have been reflected in increased amity and gestures of friendship at the political level. Since 1965, there have been three Iranian royal visits to Canada, the latest being the visit of Her Imperial Majesty, Empress Farah Pahlavi to Ottawa and Montreal in June of this year. Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, made an important visit to Iran in November 1969 and Prime Minister Trudeau visited the Iranian capital briefly in January 1971. Governor-General and Mrs. Michener will represent the Government and the people of Canada at the special anniversary celebrations in Iran in October. Their Excellencies will take with them the wish of Canadians for Iran's progressively increasing prosperity, and for ever-greater friendship and co-operation between the two countries.



## *B.C. Centenary Celebrated in London*

**I**N July 1971, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother attended a special service of thanksgiving in commemoration of the centenary of the entry of the Province of British Columbia into the Canadian Confederation. The service took place in the Guild Church of St. Mary Woolnoth in the City of London, which possesses special associations with Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria, B.C.



*In the above photograph, the Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie, and the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Peter Studd, are seen on the Queen Mother's right, and on her left is the Agent-General for British Columbia, Rear-Admiral M. G. Stirling. Queen Elizabeth is being welcomed to the Guild Church by its Vicar, the Reverend John G. Nicholls.*

## Berlin Agreement

THE four-power agreement on Berlin concluded recently provides a very important assurance that the Berlin negotiations begun 17 months ago will be brought to a successful conclusion. The text approved by the four powers is intended to:

- (a) Assure unhindered civilian access to West Berlin from the Federal Republic of Germany;
- (b) allow West Berliners to visit East Berlin and East Germany;
- (c) recognize in general the financial, economic and political ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany while prohibiting the performance in West Berlin by the FRG of certain constitutional or official acts that could imply direct authority over the city.
- (d) allow the FRG to represent West Berlin abroad;
- (e) allow the establishment of a Soviet consulate in West Berlin.

The next stage in the negotiations will be talks between the appropriate German authorities on the practical arrangements needed to implement the sections of the four-power agreement dealing with civilian access to West Berlin and visits by West Berliners to East Berlin and East Germany. Once the practical arrangements are drawn up, the four powers will bring the whole agreement into force with a final protocol.

The conclusion of the negotiations could have a great impact on East-West relations. It would encourage movement toward a conference on European security and co-operation; it would allow the FRG to ratify its non-aggression treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland; and it could lead to progress in the inter-German talks intended to regularize relations between the two German states.

Although Canada has not been involved directly in the Berlin negotiations, it has followed their progress closely and has participated actively in the consultations in NATO that have accompanied them. In this way and in bilateral contacts with the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe, Canada has sought, and will continue to make a useful contribution to *détente*. If the completed agreement does succeed in putting an end to the tension and instability of which Berlin has been the centre for almost 24 years, it will rank as one of the major accomplishments of the postwar era.

## CONFERENCES

Third Commonwealth Medical Conference: Port Louis, Mauritius, November 2-12

FAO Conference: sixteenth session, Rome, November 6-25.



## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Miss M. C. P. Kelley appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 2, effective June 7, 1971.

Mr. J. W. Carrière posted from the Canadian Embassy, Beirut, to Ottawa, effective June 26, 1971.

Mr. G. E. Hardy posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, to Ottawa, effective June 29, 1971.

Mr. R. D. Jackson, Office of the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong, appointed Canadian Commissioner, Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam, effective July 5, 1971.

Mr. J. A. A. S. Marcoux posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, effective July 25, 1971.

Miss E. A. Way posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, to Ottawa, effective July 30, 1971.

Mr. R. Bull seconded from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce to the Department of External Affairs, effective August 1, 1971.

Mr. J. A. Irwin, Canadian High Commissioner to Tanzania posted to Ottawa, effective August 1, 1971.

Mr. D. C. Arnould posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, to Ottawa, effective August 2, 1971.

Mr. F. A. D. Blair posted from the Canadian Embassy, Oslo, to Ottawa, effective August 2, 1971.

Mr. E. Hébert posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective August 2, 1971.

Mr. F. G. Livingston posted from Ottawa to the Canadian High Commission, London, effective August 2, 1971.

Mr. A. P. McLaine posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective August 2, 1971.

Mr. J. L. Paynter posted from the Office of the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong, to the Canadian Embassy, effective August 2, 1971.

Mr. G. E. Arbuthnot appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 2, effective August 3, 1971.

Mr. M. L. Fortier appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 3, effective August 3, 1971.

Foreign Service Officers appointed to the Department of External Affairs, effective August 3, 1971:

Mr. P. Abols

Mr. P. Baillargeon

Mr. J. B. Fraser

Mr. D. J. Gagnier

Mr. R. V. Lucy

Mr. D. R. Martin

Mr. M. T. Mace

Mr. J. J. L. Patenaude

Mr. C. J. M. Thomson



- Mr. R. A. J. Brazeau posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to the Canadian Embassy, Abidjan, effective August 3, 1971.
- Mr. J. R. Roy posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective August 3, 1971.
- Mr. E. B. Wang posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective August 3, 1971.
- Mr. D. Wilson appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Organization and Methods Officer 5, effective August 3, 1971.
- Mr. J. J. Scott posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, to Ottawa, effective August 4, 1971.
- Mr. M. C. Temple posted from the Canadian Embassy, Helsinki, to Ottawa, effective August 6, 1971.
- Mr. J. R. C. Thibault posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, to the Canadian Embassy, Algiers, effective August 8, 1971.
- Mr. R. A. Bell posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to the Canadian High Commission, Port-of-Spain, effective August 8, 1971.
- Mr. G. E. Parent posted from the Canadian Embassy, Abidjan, to Ottawa, effective August 9, 1971.
- Mr. W. G. Brett posted from Ottawa to the Canadian High Commission, Islamabad, effective August 14, 1971.
- Mr. R. P. Gilbert posted from the Canadian High Commission, Port-of-Spain, to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective August 15, 1971.
- Mr. G. W. Seymour posted from the Canadian High Commission, Colombo, to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective August 15, 1971.
- Miss B. E. Armstrong posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective August 16, 1971.
- Mr. W. M. Weynerowski posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, to the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, effective August 16, 1971.
- Mr. S. H. Heeney posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective August 18, 1971.
- Mr. R. R. Fowler posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective August 19, 1971.
- Miss N. K. Flynn posted from the Canadian High Commission, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective August 19, 1971.
- Mr. M. DeGoumois posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, to Ottawa, effective August 19, 1971.
- Mr. J. A. Dougan, Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand, accredited concurrently Canadian High Commissioner to Western Samoa, effective August 19, 1971.
- Mr. M. R. Finn appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 20, 1971.
- Mr. W. M. Wood posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, effective August 20, 1971.
- Mr. I. W. McLean posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam to Ottawa, effective August 21, 1971.
- Mr. L. S. Clark posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective August 22, 1971.
- Miss H. Simard posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective August 23, 1971.

- Mr. P. A. Gagnon seconded from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce (Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York) to the Department of External Affairs. Posted to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam, effective August 23, 1971.
- Mr. M. J. Bujold assigned from Ottawa to l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration Publique, Quebec City, effective August 23, 1971.
- Mr. J. R. W. Fieldhouse posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, effective August 23, 1971.
- Mr. G. I. Warren posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to Ottawa, effective August 24, 1971.
- Mr. M. K. Nelles posted from the Canadian High Commission, London, to Ottawa, effective August 25, 1971.
- Mr. R. E. Turenne posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, to Ottawa, effective August 26, 1971.
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth, Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, posted to Ottawa, effective August 26, 1971.
- Mr. J. A. McCordick appointed Canadian Ambassador to Poland, effective August 26, 1971.
- Mr. M. Beaubien posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Kinshasa, effective August 27, 1971.
- Mr. G. J. E. Spénard posted from the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, to Ottawa, effective August 28, 1971.
- Miss K. M. Brown posted from the Canadian Embassy, Vienna, to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective August 29, 1971.
- Mr. N. B. Moyer resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective August 30, 1971.
- Mr. J. C. E. L. Lavigne posted from the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, to the Canadian Embassy, Kinshasa, effective August 31, 1971.
- Mr. J. L. P. DeSalaberry posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, to Ottawa, effective August 31, 1971.
- Mr. Y. Fortin posted from the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, to Ottawa, effective September 1, 1971.
- Mr. G. R. Chartrand posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Bordeaux, to the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, effective September 6, 1971.
- Mr. P. S. Cooper appointed to the Department of External Affairs, effective July 1, 1971. Posted to the Canadian High Commission, London, effective September 1, 1971.
- Foreign Service Officers 1 appointed to the Department of External Affairs, effective September 1, 1971:
- |                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Mr. J. O. Caron        | Mr. M. R. Lortie        |
| Miss L. M. Cheriton    | Mr. M. J. McKechnie     |
| Miss C. Cloutier       | Mr. A. D. Snider        |
| Mr. G. Desbiens        | Mr. J. F. Somcynsky     |
| Mr. L. I. Friedlaender | Mr. P. R. L. Somerville |
| Mr. Y. M. Gagnon       | Mr. R. H. Stanley       |
| Mr. D. E. Hobson       | Mr. T. H. Storms        |
| Mr. C. Lacharité       | Mr. G. A. Weir          |
- Mr. J. Timmerman appointed Canadian Consul General, Chicago, effective September 1, 1971.
- Mr. J. P. Higginbotham posted from Ottawa to the Office of the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong, effective September 1, 1971.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *Visit to Canada of Premier Alexei N. Kosygin*

*The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Alexei N. Kosygin, arrived in Ottawa on October 17 for an official visit.*

*At a Canadian Government dinner next evening in the West Block of the Parliament Buildings, the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, welcomed Mr. Kosygin and his delegation in the following words:*

It is my honour and privilege on behalf of the Canadian Government and Canadian people to welcome you and your delegation to our country, Mr. Premier.

This is an historic occasion for Canada — the first visit of a Premier of the Soviet Union. It is evidence of the positive work in which our two countries have been engaged for several years, work designed to emphasize the advantages to be gained from a constructive working relationship.

Most obvious of these advantages are the direct and immediate benefits that will flow to both our peoples, such as those from our exchanges in the scientific and technical fields.

Less obvious, but far more important, are the indirect benefits that will be reaped in the future: those that will be ours because we have come to know one another, and to understand one another. Knowledge is the basis of understanding. In understanding, and in that alone, lies the hope that men and women — different though they be in ideology, colour or creed — will be able to live together peacefully and advantageously.

I do not think I am overstating the case. We live in a small world, with great problems. Antagonisms fester in a climate of misunderstanding. Only when we know each other well can we be moved to build on what we have in common rather than to be frightened by our differences. Fright is one of the most insidious of human failings. It leads to distrust, suspicion and — eventually — hatred. In this nuclear age we cannot afford the luxury of hatred.

Friendship is not easily won. Like other valuables it is rare, and one must work to attain it. More than that, one must work to keep it. Both our countries, Mr. Premier, are aware that true friendship, when once attained, and if soundly based, is strong enough to endure temporary differences, and to emerge stronger for having been tested. Canada's long relationship with its oldest friends is proof to us that however uncertain may be the consequences from time to time of short-term events, the long run consists of a climate of understanding and co-operation.

It is my sincere hope, Mr. Premier — indeed, my confident belief — that Canada and the Soviet Union are now launched on a path that will permit the development of just such a relationship. Canada and Canadians want very much to be able to look to the north, as they long have looked to the south, and see friends in each direction.

Perhaps the first step toward understanding is a frank approval not only of the similarities which join us but also of the differences which now distinguish our policies. We perform no service to ourselves, Sir, or to one another, if we do not face reality. In this respect I should like to repeat some of the words I used on the occasion of the Soviet Government lunch in the Kremlin last May. I said to you and your colleagues at that time:

I do not wish to leave the impression that Canada and the Soviet Union have no differences. Nor do I minimize the breadth of some of those differences; they concern points of more than academic or legalistic interest. They relate to deep-seated concerns springing from historic, geographic, ideological, economic, social and military factors. Nevertheless, as governments, many of our objectives are similar. We seek for our peoples a world without war, a world in which governments are at the service of man — to raise the standard of living, to eliminate disease and want, to attempt to make life a happier experience. In respect of some of these goals, Soviet-Canadian co-operation and agreement may hurry their attainment. I hope that our discussions this week will germinate some helpful ideas. But ideas, like seeds, need soil to grow in, and in this case the soil is confidence. I believe that our discussions of bilateral problems can help to promote confidence, and so can our discussion of international problems.

The move toward confidence made considerable progress last spring. Your visit here is another important step forward.

For those reasons, and for personal reasons, it gives me much pleasure to welcome you and Mrs. Gvishiani to Canada. My wife and I are indebted to you both for having made our stay in the Soviet Union so interesting and so rewarding. We cherish many memories of your country and the warm hospitality we were accorded by you and the Soviet people. We hope that you will take back with you as many favourable impressions of Canada.

Perhaps not the least of these will be a heightened awareness of what Canadians are. As you will notice in your travels here, we are of many ethnic origins. Indeed Canada is a land of minorities. This is our wealth. The Canadian Government pursues a conscious policy of guarding this wealth by supporting minority groups in the preservation of their cultures. During the course of your visit here you may see evidence of the strongly-held views of some minorities. As a Government we support the right of all persons to express their opinions, but as a Government and as a people we emphasize the transcending importance of courtesy, civility and genuine hospitality toward our guests. I have no doubt that you will have many opportunities while in Canada to sample the genuine sincerity and warmth of Canadians.

Our countries have already made an extremely promising start along the road to increased co-operation. The increase in the number of our exchanges is significant and encouraging. The Industrial Exchanges Agreement concluded in January this year has provided a framework for the exchange of information relating to numerous areas of mutual interest, among them oil and gas, non-ferrous metals, and pulp and paper. It builds upon a trading base which, though narrow, is nevertheless substantial. Canadians, and particularly Canadian farmers, are intensely aware of the importance of the Soviet market for Canadian wheat.

It is our hope, and I am sure it is yours, that this base will broaden into a profitable trading partnership across a wide spectrum.

With the conclusion of the General Exchanges Agreement,<sup>(1)</sup> we hope to provide a framework for exchanges that concern other matters — scientific, cultural, and academic among them. This agreement, based as it is on the premise of reciprocity and mutual benefit, can be a further bridge between our peoples.

The Protocol on Consultations which you and I signed last May has already resulted in somewhat more frequent and certainly more extensive discussions between our two countries about a wide variety of concerns, both bilateral and multilateral. When the Protocol was concluded last May, it was agreed that its value would depend entirely on what both sides did to breathe life and purpose into it. We have found most useful the consultations held since that time and hope the Soviet Union is finding them of equal value.

Through all these things — our scientific, technical and cultural exchanges, visits of senior ministers and officials, consultations on political questions of mutual concern, as well as our trading relations —, through these associations will our people come to know and understand each other.

Your presence here, Mr. Premier, signals not only your country's desire for that objective but also its willingness to devote considerable time and attention to achieve it. We are more than pleased.

We are also proud to show you Canada. And we hope you will find your visit to our country as rewarding and pleasurable as was our visit to yours.

### **Address by Soviet Premier**

*On October 19 Mr. Kosygin gave a lunch at Ottawa's Rideau Club, at the beginning of which he made the following speech:*

Mr. Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I welcome you cordially at this Soviet-Canadian meeting. We have made no short journey from Moscow to Ottawa, traversing a large part of Europe and the Atlantic Ocean to meet with Canadians. Despite the considerable distance between the shores of our countries, however, we consider ourselves to be neighbours. Mr. Trudeau, when he was in Moscow in May, referred to the Soviet Union as Canada's northern neighbour. In my understanding, you, our Canadian friends, when you think of the Soviet Union, do not merely associate our country with the frosts of Siberia but rather turn to it in your minds by way of the shortest route across the North Pole and the Arctic Ocean, where our countries are not divided by the boundaries of others. Therefore those in the Soviet Union also hold Canada to be their northern neighbour.

It is apparent that this will be no ordinary year in the history of Soviet-Canadian relations. The aspiration manifested on both sides for a widening of co-operation has enabled us to realize in various spheres of our relations a number

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<sup>(1)</sup> See Page 441.



of important steps whose significance, we hope, will not diminish, but rather augment, with time.

The growing ties and contacts between our countries permit us to know one another better and to find the ways and forms of co-operation which will to the greatest extent correspond to the interests of the peoples of both countries and to their aspirations for progress and for a peaceful future.

When we speak of this, we naturally take into account the fact that the Soviet Union and Canada belong to different social and economic systems. Hence there can and do occur differences in the ways in which our countries appraise and approach various world events, as well as matters of internal development in both countries.

This, however, cannot be an obstacle to the development of Soviet-Canadian co-operation for the lessening of international tension and for the promotion of extensive trade and other forms of economic relations. Soviet-Canadian economic, scientific and technical exchanges could be developed with regard for the international division of labour and with regard for the position which both countries occupy correspondingly in world systems.

At the same time, both the Soviet Union and Canada, like any other nations engaged in international trade, are naturally concerned that this trade should be on a stable footing and that it should expand as the economies of the countries involved grow. This means, of course, that it must be based on a stable system of foreign-exchange rates, on a system which does not compel some countries to pay for it by slowing down their economic development, by curtailing their commercial operations, by increasing unemployment on account of the economic miscalculations of others. This is all the more unacceptable when these miscalculations are not due to chance circumstances but are, in fact, rendered inevitable by the pursuit of policies creating focuses of tension and conflict in various parts of the world.

Those who pursue such policies still maintain that an end to the arms race and limitation of military expenditure will create even greater difficulties for the economies of the Western countries. But to accept this argument is to accept the fatal inevitability of unceasing growth of military expenditure and arms production in the world and, hence, the constantly growing danger of war.

It is known, however, that war economies can give only a temporary stimulus to employment and business activity. An unlimited expansion of the production of war materials inevitably leads to disorganization of the economy, to the rupturing of international economic links, to an increase in world tension. No country, no matter how rich, can afford to squander a great proportion of its global social product on unproductive schemes, because, in the figure of speech used by Karl Marx, "... in economic terms this is tantamount to a nation throwing part of its capital into the water".

Economic calculations done in countries of the West show that even in the most militarized capitalistic states disarmament would not create economic diffi-

culties if the released means and resources were switched over to peaceful requirements. Transition of the economy of the most developed countries from military to peaceful orientation was virtually achieved after the Second World War, when the world expended about half of its resources for armament purposes. That was a more rapid redistribution of resources and a more fundamental restructuring of industry than would be required now to implement measures for retarding and limiting the arms race initially.

Therefore, in proposing termination of the arms race, curtailment of military expenditures and introduction of disarmament measures, the Soviet Government is naturally not motivated by mere good intentions but by the real possibility of putting these proposals into effect.

The senselessness of the arms race became quite evident when people understood that in our time the use of force in the world cannot resolve vexing problems, nor can it effect enrichment of some countries at the price of enslavement and robbing of others. Could Canada, for example, count on enhancing its own well-being by seizing alien territories and subjugating other peoples? Of course it could not, nor could any other country. The times of colonial usurpations are past. Moreover, relapses to a policy of colonization encounter decisive opposition from peoples and from all peace-loving states.

Is not this reflected in the heroic epic of the Vietnamese and in the struggle for freedom and independence waged by patriots of other countries of Indochina? It is also reflected in the struggle of the peoples of Arab countries for the liberation of Arab territories occupied by Israel.

The alignment of forces in the modern world, the present level of armament of governments, the growth of the scientific and technical revolution — all of this convinces us again and again that the solution to contemporary international problems can and must be found through the lessening of tensions, a strengthening of the security of nations and the development of broad international co-operation. There is no other choice if we are not to head consciously towards war.

Therefore, the Soviet Union favours not merely normal relations but good relations, with countries representing different social systems, wherever this may be possible. We support the development of co-operation with them not only in the sphere of economic, scientific and cultural exchanges but also in the sphere of the strengthening of peace.

At yesterday's dinner, given by the Canadian Government, the necessity for the joint action of governments to resolve the problems which burden the modern world was already noted. The involvement of the Soviet Union and Canada in many international processes underlines yet further the importance and usefulness of close co-operation between us, especially since we have a common approach to the problems of lessening tensions in the world, disarmament, collective security and broad international co-operation.

I would like to express my confidence that the general result of our meetings and negotiations with Prime Minister Trudeau, and other members of the Canadian

Government, will be the strengthening of mutual trust and the enhancement of mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Canada. I think that the businesslike and constructive exchange of ideas which is taking place here, in Ottawa, on all questions of interest to the Soviet Union and Canada, justifies this confidence.

I propose a toast to fruitful Soviet-Canadian co-operation, to neighbourly relations between our countries, to their joint contribution to the strengthening of peace and international security!

To the Prime Minister of Canada and Mrs. Trudeau, to the ministers and to all Canadian guests present!

To the friendly people of Canada!



*Premier Alexei Kosygin of the U.S.S.R. (left) and Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau affix their signatures to the Canada-U.S.S.R. General Exchanges Agreement.*

### **Canada-U.S.S.R. General Exchanges Agreement**

The Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

*Desirous* of expanding their exchanges in scientific, technical, educational, cultural and other fields;

*Recognizing* that similarities in the geography and climate of the two countries create a favourable basis for exchanges in many fields;

*Convinced* that co-operation in expanding their exchanges will develop further their good relations, and broaden understanding between the Canadian and Soviet peoples;



Have agreed as follows:

#### *Article 1*

The Government of Canada and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics undertake to promote and develop exchanges and other forms of co-operation between the two states in the scientific, technical, educational, cultural and other fields on the basis of mutual benefit and reciprocity, in accordance with the laws in force in each of the two states.

#### *Article 2*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate the exchange of visits by scientists and scientific research workers and the exchange of scientific information.

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate the fulfilment of existing exchange agreements, including the agreements, which are deemed to be annexed to this Agreement, between:

- (a) The National Research Council of Canada and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences; and
- (b) Atomic Energy of Canada Limited and the U.S.S.R. State Committee on the Uses of Atomic Energy.

#### *Article 3*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate contacts and exchanges in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, wildlife, forestry, water, mining and energy as well as in the development of natural resources, particularly in areas where geography and climate create similar conditions and problems.

#### *Article 4*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate professional, technical and administrative contacts and exchanges in the fields of transport, communications, urban development, development in the north and in other regions where the environment presents similar problems of adaptation, and construction related to these fields.

#### *Article 5*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate scientific, technological and administrative contacts and exchanges in fields related to the control of pollution and the management of the environment.

#### *Article 6*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate exchanges in the social sciences, public health, medical services and medical science, and other aspects of social development, particularly in areas where geography and climate create similar conditions and problems, and in social security.

#### *Article 7*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate visits and exchanges of professors, lecturers, teachers, postgraduate students, and students in the sciences and the humanities. They will encourage exchanges in the fields of primary, secondary, higher, specialized and vocational education.

#### *Article 8*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate contacts and exchanges related to publishing, libraries, archives and museums, including exchanges of writers and specialists and of books, publications, and historical records, subject to their respective legislation and other requirements in the field of copyright.

#### *Article 9*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate contacts and exchanges in the fields of radio, television and cinematography, including co-production of programs and films and commercial arrangements in these fields.

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate the fulfilment of existing working agreements, including the agreement between the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. on Television and Radio Broadcasting which is deemed to be annexed to this Agreement.

#### *Article 10*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate contacts and exchanges in the performing arts. They will encourage tours by groups such as theatre, opera, ballet, dance companies, orchestras and other artistic groups and by individual performers under commercial contracts or mutually acceptable arrangements made by Canadian organizations or other impresarios and Soviet concert organizations. They will facilitate exchanges and visits in the performing arts of specialists such as playwrights, composers and choreographers and of other persons engaged in these fields.

#### *Article 11*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate exchanges in the visual and creative arts. They will facilitate the organization of artistic, photographic and other exhibitions. They will also encourage exchanges and visits in the visual and creative arts of specialists such as artists and of other persons engaged in these fields.

#### *Article 12*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate visits and exchanges of representatives at governmental level.

#### *Article 13*

Both Governments will encourage exchanges between appropriate professional and non-governmental organizations, having in mind that the practical realization of these exchanges shall be the concern of the organizations involved. They will encourage visits and exchanges by individuals in various cultural and professional fields, as well as their participation in meetings, conferences and symposia.

#### *Article 14*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate exchanges of athletes and athletic teams, and of specialists in the fields of physical education, recreation and sport.

#### *Article 15*

Both Governments will encourage the development of tourist travel between the two countries.

#### *Article 16*

The contracting Governments shall establish a Mixed Commission, which will meet normally once every two years, alternately in Canada and the U.S.S.R. Each Party, in accordance with its procedures and practices, will designate its participants

for each meeting. The Mixed Commission will concern itself with the implementation of this Agreement. At its meetings the Mixed Commission will review the purposes of the existing Program and develop a Program for the next two-year period. Additions and modifications to Programs for the implementation of this Agreement may be mutually agreed between meetings of the Mixed Commission.

#### *Article 17*

The exchanges of information and materials and exchanges of visits by individuals and delegations provided for in this Agreement are subject to the laws and regulations of Canada and the U.S.S.R.

Financial and other conditions of the exchanges will be agreed by the Parties during the establishment of the two-year Programs or will be agreed directly between appropriate Canadian and Soviet organizations.

To facilitate arrangements for exchanges and visits, both Governments agree that:

- (a) Visitors under this Agreement will be provided, as a rule not less than 30 days in advance, with a provisional program agreed upon through diplomatic channels or by appropriate organizations; whenever possible plans for reciprocal visits will be agreed simultaneously;
- (b) Applications for visas for visitors will be submitted as far in advance as possible and in accordance with the regulations of each country;
- (c) The size of delegations to be exchanged and the length of their stay will normally be agreed in advance;
- (d) Each Party shall have the right to include in its delegations interpreters or representatives of its Embassy within the agreed number of the delegates. The number of interpreters or representatives of Embassies in each delegation shall be agreed in advance;
- (e) In cases where other mutually acceptable arrangements do not exist, or have not been agreed in advance, visitors under this Agreement will arrange to pay their own expenses, including those incurred in international travel, internal travel, and their living expenses during the visit;
- (f) Both Parties will endeavour to facilitate visits to appropriate agencies other than the principal host agency when such visits are requested and are possible.

#### *Article 18*

The visits and exchanges provided for in this Agreement do not preclude other visits and exchanges outside the scope of this Agreement. To the extent possible and when appropriate, both Parties will keep each other informed of such visits and exchanges.

#### *Article 19*

Both Governments will encourage and facilitate the fulfilment of exchange agreements which may be concluded between designated agencies of the contracting Governments; such agreements may be deemed to be annexed to this Agreement if the contracting Governments so agree. Such exchange agreements shall be consistent with the provisions of this Agreement and the Mixed Commission may review their implementation in accordance with the terms of Article 16.

#### *Article 20*

This Agreement enters into force from the date of signature.

This Agreement shall remain in force for a period of four years and thereafter



will be extended automatically for further periods of four years unless either Government gives notice of termination not less than six months prior to the expiry of the initial Agreement or of any renewal thereof. By agreement between the two Governments the Agreement may be extended for any other period.

DONE in OTTAWA this 20th day of October 1971, in two copies in the English, French and Russian languages, all texts being equally authentic.

For the Government of Canada

P. E. TRUDEAU

For the Government of the  
Union of Soviet Social Republics.

A. N. KOSYGIN

### **Joint Communiqué**

In response to the invitation issued by the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, during his visit to the U.S.S.R. last May, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Alexei N. Kosygin, visited Canada officially as a guest of the Canadian Government from October 17 to 26, 1971.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and his official party, who received a warm welcome, held discussions in Ottawa and visited Montreal, Vancouver, Edmonton and Toronto. An opportunity was provided for them to see different parts of Canada, to meet Canadians in many walks of life, and to become acquainted with their institutions, their life and achievements in a variety of fields, political, economic, scientific and cultural.

Mr. Kosygin's talks with Mr. Trudeau were carried on in an atmosphere of frankness, cordiality and mutual understanding, appropriate to the friendly, good neighbourly relations between the two countries and to the spirit of the Protocol on Consultations signed in Moscow on May 19, 1971. These conversations provided an opportunity for a useful exchange of opinions on international problems of interest to both sides and on questions affecting Canadian-Soviet relations.

Taking part in the discussions were:

*On the Canadian side:* The Honourable Paul Martin, Leader of the Government in the Senate; the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs; the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce; the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; the Honourable Jack Davis, Minister of the Environment; the Honourable Donald Jamieson, Minister of Transport; R. A. D. Ford, Ambassador of Canada to the U.S.S.R.; B. J. Danson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister; and other officials. *On the Soviet side:* G. D. Dzhavakhishvili, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic; T. B. Guzhenko, Minister of Maritime Shipping of the U.S.S.R.; S. P. Kozyrev, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.; M. I. Misnik, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R.; B. P. Miroshnichenko, Ambassador

of the U.S.S.R. to Canada; N. M. Lunkov, Member of the Collegium of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and other officials.

The Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that Canadian-Soviet relations had further developed since their last meeting and that the desire expressed by both sides to expand exchanges between the two countries in as many areas as possible, on the basis of reciprocity and mutual advantage, was being implemented.

In the course of their meetings and talks both sides agreed that the Canadian-Soviet Protocol on Consultations had already been of value in the strengthening of mutual confidence, friendship and good neighbourliness between the two countries. A good beginning had been made in exchanging views at various levels and in exploring the possibilities of co-operation on a number of issues; they noted that these consultations had revealed a similarity of views on a number of current international issues. Examples of consultations under the Protocol included the recent meetings of the Foreign Ministers of Canada and the Soviet Union in New York, of the Permanent Representatives of Canada and the U.S.S.R. to the United Nations, and of the Canadian and Soviet representatives in the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. In the light of the experience so far in their consultations, the two sides decided to develop them further.

The Prime Minister of Canada and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., having set forth the foreign policy principles of their respective Governments, reaffirmed the attachment of Canada and the Soviet Union to peace and security and the development of international co-operation. They agreed that all States, regardless of their political and social systems, should in their relations with each other steadfastly abide by the principles of mutual confidence, reciprocity, respect for independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality of all States, non-interference in internal affairs, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and the settlement of disputes through negotiation in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The sides declare that in their mutual relations as well as in solving international problems they will invariably be guided by these principles.

The Prime Minister of Canada and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. considered developments in the international situation since their last meeting in Moscow.

They stressed in particular the importance of ensuring European security for the preservation of universal peace and expressed their desire to promote the positive processes under way in Europe.

The Governments of Canada and the U.S.S.R. recognized the importance of the Quadripartite Agreement of September 3, 1971, between France, the U.K., the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., as an important step toward the easing of tensions in Europe. Hope was expressed that negotiations between the F.R.G. and the G.D.R., and the Senate of West Berlin and the G.D.R. would be concluded without delay — an outcome which would be a step towards further measures to

promote *détente* and stability in Europe. Noting the favourable impact of the treaties concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of Poland on the entire course of European affairs, the sides expressed themselves in favour of their entry into force as soon as possible.

Welcoming these positive prospects, both sides declared themselves in favour of a properly prepared conference on security and co-operation in Europe with the participation of all European states, Canada and the United States. They expressed the hope that such a conference would contribute to the normalization and improvement of relations among all European states. They considered that multilateral consultations on this matter between all interested countries would be useful.

Since the military confrontation in central Europe is particularly dangerous, it was agreed that early steps should be taken to seek a general agreement on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in that area without detriment to the participating states.

Both sides support the objective of ending the arms race and achieving general and complete disarmament, covering both nuclear and conventional weapons, under strict and effective international control. Both sides consider it necessary that further practical steps should be taken in the field of disarmament; first of all, the effective prohibition of the weapons of mass destruction — nuclear, bacteriological and chemical. An important recent achievement was the draft Convention on the prohibition of the production, development and stockpiling of biological weapons and toxins and on their destruction. Canada and the U.S.S.R. fully support this draft and call upon other countries to endorse the Convention at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. They believe that the adoption of this Convention would constitute a first step towards the complete prohibition of chemical and bacteriological means of warfare.

It is the intention of both sides to continue furthering, jointly and separately, the adoption of partial disarmament measures, including the banning of underground nuclear tests, the reduction of military expenditures, and others.

In the course of discussions, a useful exchange of opinions took place on the proposal for a World Conference on Disarmament to consider the questions of disarmament in their entirety and especially the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. The two sides agreed to consult further on this matter.

The Prime Minister of Canada welcomed the understanding reached by the Soviet Union and the United States of America on measures to guard against the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons under their control and expressed the hope that further progress would be achieved in working out agreed measures to limit and reduce strategic armaments.

The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers stated that the Soviet Government, attaching great importance to the continuing talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, would go on making efforts to achieve agreement on limiting strategic arms on the basis of the principle of equal security,



which would meet both the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the United States of America and the objective of strengthening universal peace.

Various areas of tension throughout the world were examined by the two sides. It was noted that the situation in East Pakistan, the presence of many million Pakistani refugees in India and the resulting tension in that area continued to be a source of concern. It was agreed that to maintain peace and to prevent a further deterioration of the situation in that region it was necessary to achieve an urgent political settlement in East Pakistan that would take into account the legitimate rights and interests of its population and would facilitate a speedy and secure return of the refugees. This would be facilitated if the interested parties exercised restraint.

Both sides expressed concern about the continuing tense situation in the Middle East. They emphasized the need for urgent measures of a constructive nature on the part of all the States concerned to achieve a just and enduring political settlement of the Middle East problem. They agreed that the efforts of the special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, and of the four powers in consultation to promote progress toward a comprehensive settlement which would implement all the provisions of Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, should be supported.

Having exchanged views on the situation in Indochina, the Heads of Government of the two countries noted that it continued to be a source of anxiety. They were in favour of restoring lasting peace in the area through a political settlement which would guarantee to all the peoples of Indochina the possibility of shaping their own destiny, in accordance with their national interests and without foreign interference.

Canada and the Soviet Union attach great importance to the United Nations, and confirm their determination to seek to strengthen the organization and to enhance its effectiveness in maintaining universal peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They attach great importance to the implementation of the Declaration on Strengthening International Security adopted by the United Nations and they express the hope that the member States of the United Nations will jointly agree on practical measures to put its main provisions into effect. The sides are in favour of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China as the sole representative of China in the United Nations.

The Governments of Canada and of the U.S.S.R. attach great importance to the widest possible participation in the solution of the problems involved in preserving and improving the human environment, including such problems as marine pollution. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in 1972 could make an important contribution to the study of this problem so vitally connected with the living conditions of people and the further progress of civilization.

In their exchange of views on Canadian-Soviet bilateral relations, the two

sides noted with satisfaction the further development of exchanges of visits of government and political leaders of the two countries and of representatives of business and other circles, as well as wider contacts in the fields of science, education and culture.

They affirmed that increased exchanges and co-operation, particularly in scientific, technical, cultural, as well as other fields, would provide a firm basis for the strengthening of friendly relations on the basis of mutual benefit. To this end, a General Exchanges Agreement designed to facilitate a broader range of exchanges was signed by the Heads of Government during the visit.

Attaching due significance to the expansion of Soviet-Canadian co-operation in the economic, scientific and technological fields, which is facilitated by the similarity of the natural conditions and economic problems of the two countries, the Governments of Canada and the U.S.S.R. agreed to authorize the appropriate agencies to explore ways of establishing bilateral co-operation in these fields on a long-term basis, making use of the advantages of the international division of labour.

The two sides had a useful discussion of the Soviet proposal for a general agreement covering the fields of economic development and technological and industrial co-operation. The Canadian side will give further study to this proposal.

The two Heads of Government also expressed satisfaction with the progress made in implementing the Agreement between the Governments of Canada and the U.S.S.R. on Co-operation in the Industrial Application of Science and Technology. They noted that the Canadian-Soviet Mixed Commission set up under that Agreement was functioning well and planned to hold its next regular meeting in Canada in May 1972. The working groups set up by the Mixed Commission have been concentrating on the sectors of industry offering the best prospects for further co-operation and the development of trade. Useful programs of practical activities have been formulated by these working groups to take place through the coming year. Both sides indicated their intention of promoting the further useful work of the Commission and of the working groups on various sectors of industry and of elaborating and co-ordinating programs for joint technological and economic projects and research.

Reviewing Canadian-Soviet trade, the Canadian side expressed satisfaction with the recently concluded wheat sales contract. This commodity would continue to be an element in mutual trade between the two countries. The Canadian side indicated that it would welcome and facilitate an expansion of imports from the Soviet Union, including machinery and equipment, and the Soviet side indicated that they would do likewise with respect to imports from Canada.

It was agreed that negotiations concerning the prolongation of the Trade Agreement for a further four years would begin early next year. It was also agreed that during these negotiations the Canadian proposal to set up a joint Commission for consultations on trade would be discussed.

Confirming the importance attached to the Arctic regions of both Canada and the U.S.S.R., both sides reviewed the progress made in the field of northern development. It was noted that the exchanges of experience and technology in this area, which is of common interest to the two countries, had been productive and that opportunities existed for further advances in this area. Satisfaction was expressed over the recent successful visit to the U.S.S.R. of the Canadian Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Honourable Jean Chrétien. A promising result of that visit was that it facilitated agreement on a meeting in Moscow of technical experts to elaborate topics, organizational forms and methods for scientific co-operation on Arctic problems.

Noting that the severe climatic and unique ice and navigation conditions in the Arctic, as well as other specific features, call for increased efforts in developing and using the northern territories of the U.S.S.R. and Canada, the two sides consider it useful to expand bilateral co-operation on Arctic problems. The two sides agreed that this kind of co-operation could be aimed in particular at preventing pollution in Arctic waters and taking other measures for the preservation in these areas of the ecological balance which is of importance for the protection of the human environment.

With a view to the further expansion of commerce between the two countries, it is the intention to continue discussions on the expansion of co-operation in the field of air transport and maritime shipping.

The Governments of the U.S.S.R. and Canada, attaching great importance to the maintenance of regular personal contacts between government leaders of the two countries, express their intention to continue such contacts. The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers expressed his gratitude for the warm hospitality accorded to him in Canada.



## *Canadian Opposition to the Amchitka Nuclear Test*

THE opposition of the Canadian Government to the United States underground nuclear test that took place on Amchitka Island on November 6 had been reiterated by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, in clear and forthright terms on numerous occasions before the test. As early as February 22, 1971, the Canadian Government, through a note delivered by the Canadian Embassy in Washington, formally made known to the United States Government its serious concern about this test. Public representations continued to be made and, on September 29, Mr. Sharp made specific mention of the Government's objections to the Amchitka test in his statement to the United Nations, excerpts from which are given below. On October 15, several weeks before the test, Mr. Sharp made a statement in the House of Commons when he introduced a motion calling on the President of the United States to cancel the Amchitka test. The text of this statement is also given below and, following it, the statement Mr. Sharp made in the House on October 27, the day on which President Nixon's decision to proceed with the test was announced. The concern and regret of the Canadian Government at this decision was again expressed in the United Nations General Assembly on October 28 by Mr. Paul St. Pierre, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. His statement, made during consideration of the issue entitled "Strengthening of International Security" in the United Nations First Committee, follows Mr. Sharp's October 27 statement.

### **UN Statement — September 29**

Earlier this month in Geneva I had the privilege of addressing the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. I took advantage of my being in Geneva to speak to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament about a subject to which Canada attaches the greatest importance: the need for a complete ban on nuclear testing, including underground testing.

This Assembly will soon be seized of the CCD special report on nuclear testing, and for this reason I would like to make again here some of the points I made in Geneva. Before a complete test ban can be achieved, there are political as well as technical difficulties to be overcome. Canada is not alone in believing that these very difficulties call for a determined and speedy effort to reach a total ban on underground nuclear testing. There are steps which could be taken at once, before international agreement is reached, steps we believe all members of the United Nations would support. Those governments that are conducting nuclear tests could limit both the size and the number of tests they are now carrying out, starting with the biggest, and announce such restraints

publicly. This would present no difficulty nor involve any complication.

There is little time left to us to ensure that the Non-Proliferation Treaty becomes fully effective. All the measures needed to make the Non-Proliferation Treaty viable should receive the highest priority, and the ending of all nuclear tests must come first. Many governments are anxious to see all obstacles to the full implementation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty removed, before the precarious equilibrium among the nuclear-weapons powers is further disturbed — whether it is by ongoing scientific and technical developments or by the emergence of new nuclear powers. Canada is at one with those governments in their concern and in their determination.

The continuation of nuclear-weapons tests is at the root of the problem. The ending of all nuclear tests by all governments in all environments is of the greatest possible importance, for Canada and for the whole international community.

The safety of all is the concern of all. For Canada there is, if possible, an additional concern. The detonation by the Soviet Union in the last few days of a large underground nuclear explosion, and the possibility of a considerably larger test in our own neighbourhood by the United States, emphasize that the rate and size of underground testing is on the increase. Competitive testing must not be advanced by the nuclear powers as a justification for maintaining the momentum of the arms race. The danger is that it will, and this brings home to us all the urgent need for a complete ban on nuclear testing.

### **Statement in House of Commons — October 15**

I am sure I speak for all Members of this House and for all parties when I say how happy we are that the House has set aside time to give all Honourable Members an opportunity to register their support for the firm stand taken by Canada in opposition to continued nuclear-weapons testing, and to the Amchitka test in particular.

The world is made apprehensive by continuing nuclear-arms tests; it is becoming weary of the endless delays that are postponing a complete test ban. By this resolution<sup>(1)</sup> . . . the House of Commons, freely and truly representative of all the Canadian people, adds its voice to a universal call to the governments of the nuclear powers to have done with it.

It is a tragic comment on our world that, even as we say this, we must continue to accept the balance of nuclear deterrence as the foundation of the uneasy equilibrium that protects us all from the horror of total war. Let us hope that peace will not forever rest on such an unsure base.

This objective can be achieved slowly and with great difficulty through the continuing work of the Geneva Disarmament Committee and through imaginative initiatives such as the SALT talks, upon which so many of our hopes are centred.

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<sup>(1)</sup> The motion referred to in the first paragraph of the article.

I doubt if it can be achieved by the detonation of more efficient bombs, whether designed for offensive or defensive purposes.

In the Geneva Disarmament Committee, Canada has been working with others to find a solution to the deadlock between the United States and the Soviet Union on the need for on-site inspections to monitor an underground-test ban. Recent Canadian technical studies presented to the Geneva Committee indicate that there is excellent promise of being able to monitor, by seismological means, underground explosions other than the very smallest. Continuing research, investment in more effective monitoring facilities and improved international exchange of seismic data, taken together, have reduced the question of inspection to more manageable proportions.

The Canadian technical studies cannot eliminate all the uncertainties and ambiguities involved in the detection of violations and evasions of an underground-test ban. The time has come, however, for the two major nuclear powers to make the effort needed to bridge the gap between them and to achieve reliable identification of those smaller seismic events that existing seismological monitoring facilities cannot classify effectively.

Unless the two major nuclear powers are willing to accept effective restraints on their arms race and on the competition in the improvement of their own nuclear weapons — as they are committed to do under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty — they cannot expect the two less-highly-developed nuclear powers, France and China, and the so-called “near-nuclear powers” to accept or respect the restraints of the non-proliferation agreement which the United States and the Soviet Union sponsored. That France and China should adhere to the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty is of the greatest importance, since it is the tests they are carrying out in the atmosphere that pose the major threat of radioactive contamination of the world environment.

The problem of verification is not yet completely solved, and the achievement of an underground-test ban will take time. Until this can be achieved, both major powers should institute immediate mutual restraints to reduce the size and number of their underground tests, starting with high-yield tests like the Soviet explosion of September 27 and the proposed United States test on Amchitka Island this fall. Such measures should present no insurmountable problems of verification.

In my recent statements to the United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy on September 6, to the Geneva Disarmament Committee on September 7, to the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 29, and in discussions with the Secretary of State of the United States and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union in New York on October 1 and 2, I have made Canada's position on this question abundantly clear. I have also referred specifically in the General Assembly and in my conversations with both foreign ministers to our specific objections to the high-yield tests, the Soviet test of September 27 and the planned United States test at Amchitka.



In the course of my meeting with Mr. Rogers, I stressed the serious concern Canadians throughout the country, and particularly in the West, feel about the Amchitka test. I dealt with the serious implications of such tests — primarily the threat posed to the world by the continuation of unrestrained testing and the consequent escalation in the nuclear-arms race and the danger to the environment and ecology of the whole Pacific Northwest, a danger which cannot be entirely eliminated.

These repeated, reinforced and re-emphasized representations, multilateral and bilateral alike, add force to the clear and forthright formal approach the Canadian Government made to the United States Government as early as last February, by way of a note that I later tabled in the House on March 29 last. I am assured by Secretary Rogers that the serious concerns of the Canadian Government and people are fully appreciated by the United States administration at the highest level. The final decision on whether to proceed with the Amchitka test has not yet been taken; it is in the hands of President Nixon. There is room for hope that the United States will cancel the test, demonstrating at once their respect for the clearly-expressed opinion of large sectors of its own population, millions of Canadians and men of good will in many nations, and a determination on the United States' part not to contribute to further reciprocal escalation in the nuclear-arms race.

#### **Statement in House of Commons — October 27**

Members of the House will be aware that the United States has just announced President Nixon's decision that the underground nuclear test at Amchitka will take place on or shortly after November 3.

The Government deeply regrets this decision and shares the widespread concern of the people of Canada as expressed in the resolution of this House of October 15.

I need not remind the House that the Government has both publicly and privately made clear to the United States Canada's firm and consistent opposition to the continuation and escalation of nuclear-weapons testing, and our specific concern about the threat the Amchitka test poses to the North Pacific environment that we share with them, with the Russians and the Japanese.

Our Ambassador in Washington was notified of the President's decision this morning shortly before it was made public. I at once took steps to contact Mr. Rogers, the American Secretary of State, and have conveyed to him that this action on their part can only result in a deep sense of disquiet among Canadians.

The hard fact is that in the end the United States Government has the legal right to carry out this test. Presumably it is doing so in accordance with what it perceives to be the national interest of the United States. We have also never suggested that this test involves a high element of risk, but no one denies that risks exist.

Canada and other nations threatened will necessarily hold the United States responsible for any short- or long-term effects of this test.

To conclude . . . I should like to remind the House that our specific objections to this test are wholly consistent with Canada's opposition to nuclear-weapons testing of all kinds and by all nuclear powers.

#### **Statement by Mr. St. Pierre, UN First Committee — October 28**

. . . Let me say . . . that, in Canada's view, the fact that this debate is being held, and its style and content, is a reflection and not a cause of the strengthening of international security. This Committee is a barometer of international tensions. The atmosphere it registers should be an indicator for governments of where dangers lie, for themselves and for others. But our deliberations and the recommendations we adopt do not by themselves add directly to the security of nations. Some speakers have pointed out developments during the past year which have strengthened international security. Others have dwelt on areas where there has been no improvement. Others still have spoken forcefully of new tensions and conflicts. We can say that, where international security has been strengthened, the policies of governments coincide more closely with the principles of the Charter and of the declaration on international security. It would be a bold man who would go further to argue that there is necessarily a cause and effect relation there. Equally, it would be difficult to maintain that all tensions and threats to world peace can be ascribed simply to violations of the Charter and failure to implement the declaration.

It is here that my delegation has difficulty with the draft resolution submitted by Bulgaria and others in Document A/C.I/L.566. Clearly, violations of Charter principles arise from tensions just as much as tensions arise from violations of the Charter. And this is true across the whole range and variety of sources of insecurity with which the declaration deals.

Document L/566 identifies conspicuous sources of tension. They exist. So do many others, and each member state feels most acutely those which impinge most directly on it. I need not repeat the list which speakers even in the relatively short debate we have had on this item have enumerated.

But because we are dealing here with those questions of security which loom largest for each one of us, I am constrained to define that which most concerns Canada at this very moment.

The question of international security today transcends traditional notions of threats to the security of states. It is well known, for example, that certain inherently dangerous objects, such as a nuclear-powered vessel, or an object launched into outer space, or a loaded and unseaworthy tanker, may pose a more serious threat to the security of a coastal state than a gun-boat. The idea of the protection of the territorial integrity of states in the Charter must in the contemporary world be viewed as subsuming the new threats posed by technology to the environment beyond national jurisdiction.

When the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was adopted by three of the five nuclear-weapons powers, banning tests in the atmosphere, in the ocean and in space, we were all aware that it was a less than perfect document, but it represented some progress. Today . . . we may wonder if it and the Non-Proliferation Treaty may not have induced a false sense of security in the people of the world and among us here. Nuclear-weapons testing continues. It continues at what seems to be an accelerated pace. It has been largely driven underground, but all too often not completely underground. Close on the end of a major Soviet nuclear-test series, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission yesterday announced its decision to detonate a nuclear device at Amchitka in the Aleutian Islands.

The Canadian Government has both publicly and privately made clear Canada's firm and consistent opposition to the continuation and escalation of nuclear-weapons testing, and our specific concern about the threat the Amchitka test poses to the North Pacific environment. The hard fact is that in the end the American Government has the legal right to carry out this test. It presumably is doing so in accordance with what it perceives as the national interest of the United States. We have never suggested that this test involves a high element of risk, but no one denies that risks exist.

The Canadian Government deeply regrets this decision, as it regretted the Soviet tests, and shares the widespread concern of the people of Canada as expressed in a resolution of the Canadian Parliament on October 15.

That resolution was not unanimous. Like most legislatures . . . we seldom find ourselves in total agreement. On this vote, one Member of the House of Commons dissented. The text was as follows:

Whereas the continued testing of nuclear warheads by the nuclear powers adds to the dangers of the nuclear arms race and may seriously pollute the human environment, and whereas the scheduled test at Amchitka is of particular concern to Canadians because of its proximity to Canada's West Coast, this Canadian House of Commons calls on all nuclear powers to cease all testing of nuclear devices and, particularly, calls on the President of the United States to cancel the test at Amchitka scheduled for this month.

If this explosion in the Aleutians proves to be one of the underground tests that vent, it is scarcely conceivable that its effects will not extend beyond the territory of the United States. In this event, we should remember the provision of the Partial Test Ban Treaty, which reads:

. . . if such explosion causes radioactive debris to be *present outside the territorial limits* of the state under whose jurisdiction of control such explosion is conducted.

The Amchitka test, of course, is not unique. In the present state of affairs, it cannot be called unexpected. Nuclear arms will proliferate and underground tests will continue as long as nations fear that their rivals are surpassing them in military strength.

The U.S.S.R. has contributed its full share to heightening international tension, exploding no fewer than four nuclear devices in recent weeks, according to seismological data recorded abroad. France and China have not signed the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and they have exploded devices in the atmos-



phere that have hurled radioactive poisons into the world's skies. Although we welcome the pause in the French Government's tests, we are not told how long this pause may continue. There has been no indication whatever that the People's Republic of China is pausing in its atmospheric nuclear tests, which bring down radioactive material on my country as well as on many others.

The super-powers are engaged in a contest poisonous, dangerous and in the ultimate, futile. We cannot find security in this narrow world of ours until nuclear testing and the nuclear-arms race are ended.

I am not so disingenuous as to suggest that Canada does not have a special interest in the Amchitka test. We do, because it is on our doorstep. But our concern is also general, and has been so, consistently, since 1945, when the then Prime Minister of Canada first called for the exclusively peaceful use of nuclear devices. The Canadian Government has consistently pursued that policy, whether tests were conducted in our backyard or on the plains of Sinkiang.

Document L/566 says nothing about this issue. One course open to us would be to ask the co-sponsors to include our particular and deep preoccupation with the matter in their draft. But, if we did so, why should not every delegation here that has its own direct concerns do the same? And what would be the result? A repetition of last year's declaration.

Our intention is, therefore, to pursue the question of nuclear testing vigorously in this Committee under the disarmament item. In that context we shall seek support for a serious effort to deal with a clearly-defined danger to the security of all nations, the nuclear testers no less than the rest of us.

We see no purpose in picking and choosing among the provisions of the declaration. To select the special concerns of any one state or group of states for emphasis would be to slight the legitimate preoccupations of others. That is no contribution to the strengthening of international security. It could even be the opposite if any member state had grounds to believe that its national interests were disregarded.

This is not a plea for complacency — it is an argument for a rational and considered approach to a subject that is too fundamental to the common interest of all members to become the private property of a few. This debate has been useful. This item is of value. The agenda of the UN General Assembly provides ample further opportunity for pursuing the discussion in detail on almost all the specific points that have been raised. Substantive resolutions can best be adopted after such detailed discussion.

It would be ironic indeed if we allowed this item above all to be exploited for partisan purposes and thus ended only by weakening international security.

## *A Forum for Canada-United States Defence Talks*

THE Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence met late in October at the Canadian Forces Base, Bagotville, Quebec. Senator John B. Aird, the new Chairman of the Canada section, whose appointment as successor to the late Arnold D. P. Heeney was recently announced by the Prime Minister, was present.

The Permanent Joint Board on Defence was established in August 1940 by Prime Minister King and President Roosevelt when they met at Ogdensburg, New York, to discuss the problems of mutual defence. The conversations that took place at that time resulted in the press release of August 18 known as the "Ogdensburg Declaration", the text of which was passed as an Order-in-Council and published in the *Canada Treaty Series*.

The Permanent Joint Board on Defence has a United States section and a Canadian section, each with its own chairman (a civilian), three representatives from the armed services, and two civilian representatives, from the Department of External Affairs for Canada and from the State Department for the United States. The Chairman of the U.S. section is Mr. A. L. Borg. During the last several years, it has become customary for representatives of the Canadian Ministry of Transport and the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce to attend meetings of the Board as observers.

The CJBD was designed as an advisory rather than an executive body, with the prime purpose of making recommendations to the respective governments on joint defence questions. At present, it normally meets three times a year, alternately at defence establishments in the two countries. No voting procedure is used and formal recommendations are passed unanimously. When a formal recommendation is approved by both governments, this approval becomes the executive directive to the government agencies concerned.

After the United States entered the Second World War in 1941, some of the Board's functions were taken over by the military departments of each government, but it has continued to be a particularly useful agency for the preliminary discussion of ideas at the official level, for negotiating defence matters in a setting where both military and diplomatic viewpoints are represented, for collecting and exchanging information, and for hastening executive action, smoothing out difficulties, eliminating delays, following up on decisions already taken and ensuring that important projects are not side-tracked in the press of departmental business.

# *Senator Martin Visits Japan and Korea*

*On July 1, 1971, Senator Paul Martin, Leader of the Government in the Senate, represented Canada at the inauguration of President Park Chung Hee of Korea. The following are excerpts from two speeches delivered by Senator Martin after his return to Canada concerning his Far Eastern mission:*

## **Senate, September 15**

I was away from Canada for a few days at the end of June and beginning of July, the focal point of my mission being to represent the Government of Canada at the inauguration of President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea. I have again been fortunate in the coincidence of my Cabinet responsibilities with the responsibility with which the Senate has charged the Standing Committee of the Senate on Foreign Affairs.

Last December I reported to the Senate on a Government mission I had led to inquire into the state of Canadian-Caribbean relations, a mission that took place after the publication of the study and recommendations of the Standing Committee of the Senate on Foreign Affairs on the same question. This session the Foreign Affairs Committee has undertaken a study of the Pacific area, and my mission to the Far East followed on the hearings of that Committee. . . .

I was very pleased that the Senate charged the Foreign Affairs Committee with the task of looking into the state of Canada's relations with the Far East last autumn. . . . Our Foreign Affairs Committee has . . . had an exceptional and unchallenged opportunity to concentrate governmental and public attention on its own work. For my own part, the chance that I was asked to undertake this mission to the Far East has enabled me to keep abreast of the Committee's work more easily than might otherwise have been the case.

### **A Pacific Power**

Both here in Canada and while in Tokyo last year . . . Prime Minister Trudeau has stressed that we are a Pacific as well as an Atlantic and an Arctic power. This was physically exemplified at the end of last June by the presence on the same flights from Ottawa to Tokyo of my own mission to the Republic of Korea *via* Japan, and my colleague Jean-Luc Pepin's group, which was *en route* to Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China.

It happened that elections to the House of Councillors, the Upper Chamber in the Japanese Diet, were taking place at the time of my arrival in Tokyo. In the Japanese Upper Chamber, members are elected for six years, with elections held every three years for the retirement and replacement of half of the Chamber. . . . The House of Councillors has become much more of a party chamber than



our own. Not only are less than a handful of the 252 Councillors called independent but the party supporters themselves behave in a more partisan manner than we are accustomed to.

The House of Councillors is also unlike the Canadian Senate in that, although there has been no more than one Canadian Senator in the Cabinet for many years, at the time of my visit to Japan there were three Councillors in the Japanese Cabinet. . . .

As for the elections to the House of Councillors, on election day each voter is able to vote twice, once for his local constituency and once for the "national constituency" — which means the nation as a whole. Of the 126 seats that were at stake, 76 were local ones and 50 were national. I was permitted to witness the electoral procedure at two polls. . . . Owing to the very degree of Japanese literacy, spoiled ballots are relatively rare phenomena.

I held discussions with Japanese Foreign Minister Aichi in the wake of these elections and of the Okinawan Reversion Agreement, which had been signed on June 17. The governing Liberal Democratic Party had lost a little ground in the election, and particularly in Mr. Aichi's own area, where the low price on surplus rice had led to the defeat of the candidate Mr. Aichi was backing. . . .

### **Talks on China**

I reminded (Mr. Aichi) that the last time I was in Tokyo, I had, as Secretary of State for External Affairs, discussed with the then Japanese Foreign Minister the question of bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China, and the possible membership of that government in the United Nations. I had explained at that time that Canada was moving towards bringing Peking into greater contact with other powers, an initiative which had not then been entirely welcomed by some of the important countries friendly to us. The international climate last June was more favourable to the People's Republic of China than at the time I was External Affairs Minister, but Japan is fairly close to Taiwan geographically, has many ties with that island. . . . It was evident that, although Japan was interested in an overall settlement in East Asia, and specifically in a solution of the problem of bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China, the issue was . . . controversial in Japan. . . .

Since my return to Canada, Mr. Aichi has retired, and been replaced by Takeo Fukuda, whom I used to know when he was Minister of Finance. . . . His views on the international problems of that area of the world may not be very different from his predecessor's, and he has had a pleasant and continuous working association with Canadian Government representatives.

During my visit to the Far East, I was also able to talk to the former Foreign Minister Miki. I have known Mr. Miki since 1964, when he was Minister of International Trade and Industry. Honourable Senators may recall that he paid a visit to Ottawa some 15 months ago.

. . . I was (also) able to go through the International House of Japan,

and talked to its Director, Dr. Matsumoto. It is a fine building, with its own conference rooms, cafeteria, library, residence accommodation, and its own striking Japanese garden. Members of the Diet and of the general public attend lectures, discussion groups, and seminars there. The accommodation is used chiefly by visiting academic and postgraduate students; International House is not open to undergraduates. . . . It is very useful for parliamentarians, academics, businessmen, and other members of the interested public to be able to get together to listen to lectures and work together in study groups on current international problems. . . . The circumstances in Canada are not comparable, and I am not sure that that kind of establishment, at least on that scale, would be viable in Ottawa at this juncture.

There was one centre — this time an official governmental one — that did impress me very much. I am referring to the Gaimusho Entertainment Building, that is to say the official reception centre of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. It is a very large building, beautifully decorated, and with rooms for entertaining visiting dignitaries as few in number as two or three, or as many as 2,000 or 3,000.

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It was my impression while still in Tokyo that such a centre would be quite beyond the resources of the Canadian Government, but a day or two later in Seoul I discovered that the Korean Government operate a government guest-house as well. I do not believe that in the Republic of Korea the different ministries boast of having their own guest-house, but the Government as a whole owns and operates a reception centre for the handling of official entertainment. I suppose there is the risk that a government reception centre may appear to be too lavish and wasteful of the taxpayer's money, but in the Far East it is regarded as cheaper than renting reception rooms in the larger hotels.

### **Finest Canadian Embassy**

While speaking of physical "plant", I might mention how extremely lucky Canada is to possess the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo. . . . The residence is probably the finest Canada owns anywhere, and the property is of almost incalculable value. The Prime Minister's Office and the Foreign Ministry are only a few minutes away from the Embassy compound, but the Chancery and Residence have an air of privacy afforded by the spacious grounds. . . . There is . . . no doubt that Marler's<sup>(1)</sup> enterprise, initially involving the expenditure of his own funds, has paid real dividends for this country.

. . . . There are considerable advantages for Canadian officials, representatives of the host country, and visiting Canadians to be able to look after their affairs at a central location, and with a property large enough for some additional expansion. . . .

Building, I may say, is something one sees going on all over Tokyo. It

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<sup>(1)</sup> Sir Herbert Marler, who became Canada's first Minister to Japan in 1929.

appears to be going on all the time, from sunrise to dusk, on weekdays and holidays. This tremendous industry, combined with the rising but still relatively low wage structure, plus working in extremely modern and up-to-date plants, have combined to provide Japan with its impressive productivity. In 1968 Japan surpassed West Germany in gross national product, and in the view of some analysts . . . the Soviet Union and the United States should expect to be overtaken by Japanese growth within a measurable number of years. In *per capita* income, Japan does not rate as highly, and by its own calculation was about nineteenth in the world in *per capita* income in 1969. It may be that that figure is misleadingly low, since Japanese employment practices provide for very high bonuses and other material rewards which are not incorporated in the official wage picture.

In mentioning Herman Kahn's prediction of Japanese future growth, I am not endorsing it. Kahn's method is to take the growth of the 1950s and 1960s and project it on at the same rate for the next 20 years or so. . . . If one looks at Japan's growth over a whole century, rather than over two decades which involved recovery and development from the devastation of the Second World War, the Japanese growth-rate is not quite as incredible as it has appeared in recent years. I noticed that in the fiscal year 1970-71, which ended on March 31, 1971, the Japanese economy expanded by 9.9 per cent. The figure for 1969-70 was 12.6 per cent, and, if one uses an adjusted rate over several years in the late 1960s, one has a figure of 14 per cent.

I find it a little difficult to regard an expansion of an economy at 9.9 per cent in a year as a recession, but that term was in use in Japan some months ago. . . .

### **Korean Visit**

I would now like to speak about my mission to the Republic of Korea, where I attended the third inauguration of President Park, who has been the dominant political figure in Korea since 1961. It was an event that was being celebrated at the ministerial level by other nations, and it was recognized by the Government of Canada that our friendship with the Republic of Korea dictated that our representation should be at the equivalent level.

Canada was one of the eight nations on the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea in 1948, which attempted without success to supervise elections throughout the whole of Korea. . . . Because of the co-operation the United Nations received in the southern part of Korea, Canada supported the General Assembly resolution later in 1948 which constituted official recognition of the Republic of Korea. For the past 21 years the United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has sought the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in all Korea, a goal which Canada has steadily supported.

In addition to being personally involved in many of these decisions as a member of the Mackenzie King and St. Laurent Cabinets, I am also Chairman



of the Advisory Council to the Canada-Korea Foundation. This is the principal organization that has been established in Canada to foster good Canadian-Korean relations. Its equivalent in Korea is the Korea-Canada Cultural Association, an organization to which I spoke in Seoul on July 2.

I had hoped to pay my respects at the Canadian cemetery near Pusan, which is a permanent testimony of the 1,500 Canadian casualties of the Korean War. I had also hoped to visit the Commonwealth cemetery near Panmunjom at the demilitarized zone. Both of these trips of homage fell victim to the monsoons, which . . . restricted our movements. I was, however, able to visit the National Cemetery of Korea, which is located just outside Seoul. It is the burial-ground of Korea's military heroes and distinguished citizens, such as the late Syngman Rhee, who was President of the Republic of Korea for three terms until 1960.

There is only one foreigner buried in that cemetery, and I am proud to say that he is a Canadian. He was the late Dr. Frank W. Schofield, a missionary from Guelph, Ontario, who devoted many years of his life to Korea. He was a specialist in preventive medicine, served on the staff of the Seoul National University, and died a year or two ago at a ripe old age. . . . He is perhaps the Canadian best known to Koreans. It is a real tribute to Dr. Schofield that the Government of Korea sought to have him buried in the National Cemetery of Korea, and I was fortunate to be able to do honour to his memory by placing a wreath on his grave.

### **Korean Colleges**

I was able to visit the Seoul National University . . . and Han Yang University. . . . There is an extraordinary number of institutions of higher learning (in Korea), considering that under the half-century of Japanese occupation ending in 1945 higher education was very much restricted and totally Japanese. I was also able to visit Sun-In College, located . . . at Inchon. . . . Honourable Senators may recall that it was at Inchon that General Douglas MacArthur succeeded in turning the tide of the Korean War with his celebrated amphibious landing to cut the rear of the forces advancing from the north.

. . . . Seoul, which after the Second World War was a city of perhaps a million people, has now grown to four or five million. With its industries, high-rise buildings and luxury hotels, to see Seoul is no more to know Korea than to see Montreal is to know Canada. The gross national product of Korea has increased at an average rate of almost 10 per cent annually in real terms from 1962 to 1970, attaining a level in American dollars of some \$8.4 billion in 1970. Over 60 per cent of its exports are now manufactured goods. This represents a real development of the urban sector, but at the expense of a growth in disparities and wealth between the urban and rural areas.

The Korean Government is well aware that its successes to this point have been concentrated in the great cities like Seoul, and more recently in Pusan and



*During his visit to Korea, Senator Martin receives the Sun-In Award from Sun-In University, Inchon.*

other centres. In his inaugural speech, President Park said that in the years ahead he wished to place . . . Korea "in the upper ranks of the intermediate advanced countries by modernizing the nation's agricultural and fishing communities". Korea is approaching the point of economic self-sufficiency, but its future development will have to be carefully regulated. . . . Unemployment, population pressure, low domestic savings, and inflation remain as economic problems. The country continues to run a large trade deficit, which in 1970 was of the magnitude of \$1.1 billion (U.S.).

Hard work, entrepreneurial skill, and good training have contributed to the sense of pride and self-confidence I encountered amongst Koreans. The President forecast in his inaugural address that by the mid-1970s Korea would have become strong enough to achieve unification. . . . The Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, with whom I held some very useful discussions, was as impressed as I was by the Koreans' ability and reliability. He anticipated that countries like Korea and Thailand would increasingly stand on their own feet economically and politically.

. . . The Korean Government was . . . keenly aware of the direction of international trends. There are three sentences in the President's speech which I would like to read out to Honourable Senators:

With this foundation, the time has come for us actively to participate in the channelling of the new international currents of the will to peace. It is within these currents that we must seek ways to achieve our national goals. A great change is taking place around us, as indicated by the rise of a so-called mood of thaw between East and West, and the initiation of efforts for *rapprochement* between the United States and Communist China.

. . . That speech was not only the first occasion on which the Government of Korea spoke positively about the people's Republic of China, but it is in itself a surprisingly affirmative statement. The President took note not merely of the *rapprochement* between the United States and China, but indicated that it was in this direction that Korea would be seeking ways to achieve its own national goals. This speech . . . was delivered a fortnight before President Nixon's announcement that he intended to visit Peking.

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### **Trade with Korea**

Canada and Korea have . . . been concerned to maintain the steady expansion of their bilateral trade. Korea's international trade has been expanding at an even faster rate than its gross national product, and Canada's role in that trade has steadily mounted. As recently as 1965 Korea ranked 116 of our 138 trading partners. By 1968 Canada ranked as the thirteenth most important nation from which Korea was importing. By 1970 total trade between the two countries was 20 times the inauspicious level of 1965.

. . . Our trading figures with [the Far East] afford convincing testimony of the growing relationship. In 1953, the year before Japan's accession to the GATT and the signing of the Canada-Japan trade agreement, bilateral trade between the two countries was \$132 million. By 1970, the trade had expanded tenfold, to \$1,377 million. In Canada, Japan now ranks after the United States and Britain as our third most important trading partner. In Japanese perspective, Canada ranks after the United States and Australia as Japan's third most important supplier.

Canadian-Korean trade is at a more modest level, with the most-favoured-nation agreement between the two countries dating only from 1966. Bilateral trade has, however, jumped from approximately \$1.5 million in 1965 to over \$33 million in 1970. Canada follows the United States, Japan, Viet-Nam, Hong Kong and West Germany as the sixth most significant purchaser of Korean exports. The 1970 trade figures also indicate that we were tenth-highest in terms of countries importing into Korea.

Fifteen months ago the policy papers *Foreign Policy for Canadians* predicted that the Pacific area was likely to continue to experience more rapid economic growth than the world at large. So far, that prediction appears to be still accurate. The papers also said:

With a vast and varied potential, the Pacific area offers great challenges and opportunities for the growth of economic and commercial exchanges. The extent to which this potential can be developed will depend not only on deliberate and concerted efforts to understand and cater for the needs of the Pacific region markets, but on the establishment of a climate which minimizes conflict and instability.

That assessment remains equally valid, and the Government can claim to be contributing alike to the development of trade and to the reduction of conflict.

Some months ago, when we recognized the People's Republic of China, a



number of other countries clearly followed our lead. With the announcement last July of President Nixon's projected visit to Peking, the most crucial readjustment in Far Eastern political relations appears to be in process of fulfilment.

During the past year, the Canadian Prime Minister the Minister of Finance and other ministers have journeyed to the Far East. As I mentioned a few minutes ago, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce led a mission to Hong Kong and China at the time that I visited Japan and Korea. The National Leader of the Progressive Conservative Party spent some time in China and Japan in July. Many businessmen have visited the Far East, and many more will do so in the coming months.

A stable political relation, both for the preservation of peace and for the development of trade, is our aim. I hope that my visit, and I trust the forthcoming report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs of this Chamber on the Pacific area will contribute to the furtherance of these aspirations which so many of us hold in common.

### **Canadian Club of Winnipeg, September 17**

Individuals have often picked their quarrels and made them up in a different way from nations. Duelling is now rather out of fashion, but it used to be that a slap of the glove on another man's face was an excellent way of arranging a fight. According to the Shakespeare version, when the Dauphin of France was anxious to pick a quarrel with the British nation, he sent King Henry V a set of tennis balls. War followed.

If a man is anxious to make up with his wife, he sends her roses. (If it is somebody else's wife involved, I am sure the token would be considerably more than roses.) On the international plane, it seems from the events of this summer that the sending of a ping-pong team for a match is the best way of creating a *rapprochement*.

There have been signs over the past couple of years of President Nixon's gradual moves. Administration spokesmen had stopped talking about Communist China or Red China, and started referring to China or the People's Republic of China. The President advocated trade in non-strategic goods. Mr. Nixon began his gradual withdrawal from Viet-Nam. There was the grand tour of China by the American ping-pong team, every minute of it bathed in exceptional world publicity. And now we have President Nixon's announced intention to visit Peking.

Political ping-pong has transformed the international politics of the Pacific, and may well turn out to have altered the power balance within the United Nations. It has given a completely diplomatic connotation to an old Chinese sport. . . . I have seen it suggested that the Chinese could have blasted the Americans off the ping-pong tables with one hand tied behind their backs. They chose to barely win. That is politics, not a sportman's game.

We were not informed of the President's moves, but we were delighted by them. The Prime Minister praised the United States, and refuted the critics of the United States who have often sold it short. Mr. Trudeau said:

I feel the ability of the United States to make such a dramatic change in its foreign policy speaks highly of the democratic process.

### **Importance of Canadian Moves**

As Premier Chou En-lai of China acknowledged to my colleague, Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, . . . we are the first of the second round of powers recognizing the People's Republic of China. Mr. Sharp has indicated that it is our intention to do our utmost to see the seating of that government in the United Nations this coming autumn. . . . In American eyes, our moves, followed as they were by those of other powers, were bound to increase the likelihood of the People's Republic of China being seated in the United Nations. An adjustment of American policy was therefore called. . . .

. . . Other allies of the United States . . . (received) only a few minutes' warning (of the Nixon announcement). . . . The delay in the Soviet reaction indicates that Moscow was not expecting the move. It was not long before *Pravda* was writing critical comments, and even implying that the China-America meetings were directed against the Soviet Union . . . I have certainly read the assessment that the timing of the recent Russo-Indian treaty, if not the substance of the treaty itself, appeared to have been influenced by the Nixon announcement on China.

Probably the Government most shocked by President Nixon's announcement was that of Prime Minister Sato of Japan. . . . There is no doubt that Prime Minister Sato's policy has been based on the priority of the American alliance over any relations with China. I gave a speech in Tokyo seven years ago, on September 7, 1964, about the conception of a North Pacific triangle among Japan, Canada and the United States, comparing it with the North Atlantic triangle of Britain, Canada and the United States. There has been a real commercial triangle, and a political triangle flowing from it, amongst those countries in the past seven years. . . . That speech was valid for its times, but is now buried.

This summer I have been reading some of the recent works of Professor Doak Barnett. . . . His writings have on occasion reflected the views of the administration. He sees the big powers of the Far East as being the United States, Russia, Japan and China. . . . I think he is right. Hedley Bull, an Australian professor heretofore more concerned with nuclear strategy, has written . . . that the new balance in the Pacific will involve the United States, the Soviet Union and China, but he is uncertain about Japan. He does not regard Japan as a great power, which I think it is. He minimizes Japanese influence by defining power in purely military terms, and Japan has exercised great restraint in its military development.

. . . Another former nuclear analyst, Herman Kahn . . . sees Japan surpassing the Soviet Union in 1980 and perhaps the United States by the end of the century. Kahn's method is to take growth in recent years and project it

unaltered into the future. In a recent article, Kahn predicted a vast increase in Canada-Japan trade, based on such figures as an increase of 27 per cent in our exports to Japan in 1970 over 1969. I hope he is right, but I don't think that governments or exporters would like to base their policy on that kind of prediction.

### **Dangers of Misunderstanding**

Last May, Mr. Ushiba, . . . Ambassador to Washington, warned in Houston that false impressions and emotions on both sides of the Pacific might do lasting damage to international relations. . . . In November 1969, President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato held some discussions, and Nixon apparently left with the impression that Sato would restrain Japanese exports to the United States if Nixon arranged for the return of Okinawa to Japan. I was in Japan and Korea early this summer on a Government mission, and the Okinawan Reversion Agreement was signed just ten days before I was in Tokyo. I saw Mr. Aichi in June, at which time he was Foreign Minister, and he was very pleased with the Okinawa agreement. . . . The Japanese do not have the same recollection as the Americans of a deal having been made in November 1968, and newspapers have reported that Mr. Sato thinks that the interpreter mistranslated his remarks to President Nixon.

The Japanese restraint on exports has been somewhat less than the President had wished for, and the Japanese surplus with the United States has amounted to billions of dollars. . . . So Mr. Nixon wishes to reduce American imports from Japan by at least \$2 billion a year, and he is going about it with evident determination.

Other misunderstandings have occurred in the Far East. The French analyst on Asian politics, Jean Lacouture, and the Australian Leader of the Opposition, Gough Whitlam, both left interviews with Chou En-lai under the impression that the Chinese Premier was sympathetic to great-power conferences. Premier Chou has subsequently stated that he does not understand how they reached these conclusions. Premier Chou told Jean-Luc Pepin that China would not attend any five-power conference on nuclear weapons. He said he does not like small conferences that try to arrange the affairs of other powers not represented.

Misunderstandings easily arise. We have been guilty of some ourselves. The publisher of one of the Canadian monthly journals of opinion recently wrote that there had been only one meeting of the Canadian Japanese Ministerial Committee. Actually the sixth of these meetings was held on Monday and Tuesday of this week (September 13 and 14) in Toronto. I had the honour to chair the second, third and fourth of these meetings in Ottawa and Tokyo and in Ottawa again when I was External Affairs Minister. It only goes to show that more publicity is desirable about these meetings.

If I may speak in a personal vein regarding a misconception of my own, I had no idea when I went to Seoul, the capital of the Republic of Korea, what a large



city I was to visit. I had an excellent opportunity of seeing a good deal of the capital of Korea when I attended the inauguration of President Park at the end of June and early July of this year. Seoul is a large city of five million people. More than that, it is a thriving, modern . . . city . . . of very recent design and construction. . . . I suspect that many Canadians have, like myself, failed to keep up with the scale of Korea's urban development.

Our trade and political interrelations with Asian countries have developed a great deal in recent years. As the Prime Minister has said on several occasions, . . . Canada is a Pacific power as well as an Atlantic power and an Arctic power. We are Japan's third most important trading partner, as Japan is our third most important trading partner. Australia competes with Britain for second place as Canada's most important market for manufactured goods. We sold New Zealand \$40-million worth in 1970, including again a large component of manufactured products. We are sending a trade mission to the Philippines next month, and hope to see a growing trade with that country. . . .

Our trade with Korea is not yet extensive, since it was insignificant until five years ago. Now, however, we are the sixth (largest) purchaser of Korean exports. We are the tenth highest in terms of countries importing into Korea. They are very anxious to strengthen their trade and their diplomatic ties with us. Of course, particularly in this great city of Winnipeg, I must return to the vista of a potential Chinese market. We have an excellent market for our wheat in China. The Canadian Wheat Board has seen to that, and in particular my friend Senator Bill McNamara, who lived for many years in this city and who accompanied Jean-Luc Pepin on this visit to China. We are looking, however, to the development of a market for many others of our products, and to the expansion of imports from China. Their demand is as great as their cash in hand, and the more revenue they derive from their exports around the world the more they will be able to import. It is a potentially vast — if currently somewhat restricted — market.

I think China will be able to play its most fruitful and its most appropriate role within a framework of the fullest international co-operation, and without any artificial political barriers to its relationships with other countries. Mr. Sharp has announced that Canada has a one-China policy and will vote for the resolution to seat China in the United Nations General Assembly and in the Security Council.

We think that China has been isolated too long. We believe that it should take its proper seat in the United Nations, and that our votes at the UN should be calculated to bring this about. I have been heartened within the last few days by some indications that some influential and pivotal powers may have the same outcome in mind. We have no doubt — and I trust this view is shared by President Nixon — that China will act as a better international neighbour if its connections with the outside world are repaired and maintained. We think we are at the beginning of a new ball-game. Let us hope that this proves to be the case.

## *Canadian-Tunisian Relations*

**A**LTHOUGH only recently initiated, relations between Canada and Tunisia are exceptionally friendly and constructive. Aware of the cultural and political affinities between the two countries, President Bourguiba visited Canada in 1961, and was welcomed here a second time in May 1968. For their part, leading Canadians made many visits to Tunisia, some of the most notable being the visit of Mr. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, then Parliamentary Secretary to Prime Minister Pearson, which took place in February 1967, the missions of the Honourable Lionel Chevrier in February 1968 and the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, early in 1969 and, more recently, the official visit of the Honourable Gérard Pelletier, Secretary of State, in August 1970. Moreover, Canada has had a resident Embassy in Tunis for five years, and Tunisia has had a similar establishment in Ottawa since the autumn of 1969. These are so many indications of a profitable friendship that has already borne fruit in many fields.

Tunisia and Canada, which work together in the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, also stand together in the Agency for Cultural and Technical



*Mr. André Ouellet, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of National Health and Welfare, opens the Tunis-Korba high-tension line as officials of the Tunisian Government look on.*



Co-operation, which consists of countries that are wholly or partly French-speaking. The Agency, which was founded in Niamey, Niger, realized the first stage in the multilateral co-operation to which both countries attach such importance. These political and cultural bonds are strengthened by the technical and economic co-operation that serves as a backdrop for such a relationship.

This period of technical and economic co-operation, now six years old, became official in the autumn of 1964 by the signing of an agreement between the two governments. It began with a small team of teachers, whose activities soon extended beyond the high schools and agricultural colleges to specialized instruction in social service, administration, the plastic arts, music and various techniques. In 1966-67 the group, at that time numbering 46, was joined by a medical team of some 50 persons, who had come to Tunis for a five-year pediatric-personnel training project, and in the spring of 1968 by 12 agricultural-machinery experts to whom Tunisia thereafter entrusted the shop training of equipment-repair technicians. In the meantime co-operation was assuming other forms: food aid, inaugurated in 1967 with a gift of wheat valued at \$1 million, was continuing and becoming increasingly significant; in February 1968 the mission of the Honourable Lionel Chevrier initiated a program of interest-free loans to allow Tunisia to buy from Canada the basic products it needed and to procure the equipment and services required for getting a number of construction projects under way. The mission and the direction of Canadian-Tunisian co-operation are the subject of discussions by a joint committee that meets once a year, alternately in Tunis or Ottawa.<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1970 these efforts culminated in the presence in Tunisia of about 130 Canadians working in highly-diversified fields under the auspices of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and 20 volunteers from the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO). With the increase in the number of volunteers, the replacement of those under contract to CIDA who returned to Canada when their contract had expired, and the arrival of a number of new experts, Canada will have some 130 "technical advisers" in Tunisia in October 1971, while some 50 scholarship-holders and trainees will be studying in Canada. Side by side with this "technical" co-operation, so-called, economic co-operation is shown by the addition of supporting equipment for the pediatric-training project and the Vocational Training Centre for Office Workers, the construction, with interest-free credits, of a power-transmission line, and a food budget which had been set at more than \$2.5 million for the year 1969-70 but was raised to more than \$4.5 million to meet the urgent needs created by the disastrous floods in the autumn of 1969. In 1970-71 this supplementary food aid, which was in addition to \$3-million worth of technical assistance and to new credits amounting to \$5 million, has been maintained at a level of \$4 million as major new projects appear, the most important of which concern agricultural production. Since

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(1) For the joint communiqué issued at the end of the third meeting of the Canada-Tunisia Joint Committee, in September 1971, see Appendix I.



Canada's objective is to supply the means whereby Tunisia can do its own work of development, the Canadian contribution is still in the form of basic products to be processed in Tunisia or to increase production, equipment which Tunisia would otherwise have to obtain abroad at the cost of precious hard currency and, above all, skill to help production and to train qualified personnel. The level of this aid rose from about \$1,200,000 in 1966-67 to \$11-million worth of new credits in 1970-71. Canadian-Tunisian economic and technical co-operation thus ranks at the top in relations between the two countries.

If trade between the two countries is still at a low level and migration still in its infancy, cultural relations are growing steadily. A number of Tunisians are already making valuable contributions to cultural exchanges in Canada. Each month the Canadian Embassy's film library distributes from 20 to 50 films to a variety of audiences. The Embassy will soon establish a record library so that Canadian music and artists may become better known. Canadian books and periodicals are still scarcely known in Tunisia but are now being somewhat more widely distributed. Canada sent a group of folk-singers to the Carthage Festival in 1969. In May 1970 a first Canadian cultural week took place in the two cultural centres at Tunis. There were two series of films, Eskimo prints and sculptures and the work of a Canadian painter. A series of lectures and film showings is planned for the current year. The second issue of a quarterly review entitled *Canadian-Tunisian Events* will appear shortly. This publication is intended to provide Tunisians, and Canadians living in Tunisia, with more information on the latest developments in relations between their countries. It need hardly be added that the presence in Tunisia of such a large number of Canadian technical advisers, who have joined the small colony of Canadians already there, constitutes one of the most valuable assets for the development of Canada's cultural and human relations.

## Appendix I

The Canada-Tunisia Joint Committee held its third meeting in Tunis from September 20-24, 1971.

The Canadian delegation was headed by Mr. André Ouellet, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of National Health and Welfare. Its members were H. E. d'Iberville Fortier, Canadian Ambassador in Tunis, and senior officers of the Departments of External Affairs, Immigration, Industry, Trade and Commerce, and the Canadian International Development Agency. The Tunisian delegation was headed by Mr. Béchir M'Hedhebi, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It included H. E. Abdelaziz Hamzaoui, Tunisian Ambassador in Ottawa, and senior officers from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Planning, Agriculture, National Economy and Finance.

The first session was devoted to a review of the political scene, providing both delegations with an opportunity to express their respective views on a number of present-day questions, especially certain matters on the agenda of the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly: the Middle-East crisis, the situation in the Mediterranean, La Francophonie and the activities of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation.

The Committee then turned to the program of co-operation between the two countries. Thus, having reviewed the guiding principles relating to co-operation between the Tunisian and Canadian Governments, the two delegations studied the new projects presented, and discussed future trends in Canadian-Tunisian co-operation. The delegations also examined economic relations between the two countries, and the means for promoting bilateral trade. Cultural relations and immigration also received attention.

Mr. Ouellet took the opportunity afforded by his visit to Tunis to announce that the Canadian Government had officially agreed to participate in implementing the Hertzian-beam project that had been proposed to the Canadian authorities at the second meeting of the Joint Committee held in Ottawa in June 1970. He also informed the Tunisian Government that Canada had undertaken to continue the plan relating to hydraulic development and the equipping of rural areas, to participate in launching a project for popularizing farming through audio-visual aids, and to allocate funds for a study of potash in the Zarzis region.

At this meeting Mr. Ouellet, in the presence of Mr. Chelly, Minister of National Economy, inaugurated the Tunis-Korba high-tension line, the most recent accomplishment of Canadian-Tunisian co-operation. He also visited Kairouan, where Canada is undertaking studies relating to the overall development of the region.<sup>(1)</sup>

During his stay Mr. Ouellet was received by Prime Minister Hédi Nouira, and by Mr. Marmoudi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Chedly Klibi, Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information, Mr. Mansour Moalla, Minister-Delegate to the Prime Minister, in charge of Planning, and Mr. Mustapha Zanouni, Secretary of State for Agriculture.

## Appendix II

### Canada in Kairouan

In July 1969 Professor Benjamin Higgins of the University of Montreal, who was pursuing studies abroad on behalf of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), expressed a hope that Canadian-Tunisian co-operation would one day find expression in some new major project. The central region of Tunisia was mentioned to him, and he was taken to see Kairouan. Two months later, the sight of the Wadi Marguellil and the Wadi Zeroud sweeping through

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<sup>(1)</sup> See Appendix II.

the area brought its own reminder that there was need not only for development but for protection as well.

The Canadian Government and the Tunisian authorities then undertook to define the problem. In March 1970 a team made up of an agronomist and two engineers, one of whom was the present Vice-President of CIDA, Mr. Jacques Gérin, went to Tunisia on an information mission. In October of the same year, another mission, led by Mr. Denis Hudon, at that time Vice-President of CIDA, arrived for the purpose of discussing the form and scale of any action Canada might take; it was followed, in June and July 1971, by another mission which had come to prepare for the arrival of the official team. On September 8, 1971, the project leader, Mr. Roger Boudreault, arrived in Tunis with his family and a week later occupied temporary offices in Kairouan.

During the next two years the team of experts led by Mr. Boudreault will conduct a far-reaching agro-economic and hydrological study based on previous work and new research, with a view to determining the potential of the Kairouan region and, as accurately as possible, the measures to be undertaken to protect and develop this plain. Tunisia and Canada will then be called upon to decide whether, having defined the tasks, they will participate in carrying them out.



## *Visit to Canada by Mr. Maurice Schumann*

THE visit to Ottawa on September 22 and 23 of Mr. Maurice Schumann, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, was a mark of the favourable development of relations between France and Canada. Regular consultations on foreign policy between the two countries are now a tradition, and France-Canada co-operation is continually broadening. Mr. Schumann's visit to Quebec City on September 30 and October 1 underscored the importance of Quebec's activities in France-Canada exchanges as a whole.

Discussions in Ottawa between Mr. Schumann and Canadian ministers revealed that Canada and France shared almost similar views on major international questions such as the international monetary crisis, China's admission into the United Nations, East-West relations and the community of French-speaking countries. The Secretary of State for External Affairs again emphasized Canada's positive attitude, as well as its concern over the possible repercussions that the expansion of the Common Market might have on its foreign trade. Mr. Sharp further drew his visitor's attention to the proliferation of preferential arrangements concluded by the Common Market.



*Mr. Maurice Schumann, French Minister of Foreign Affairs (right), poses with Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau for a press photograph during Mr. Schumann's September visit to Ottawa.*

In connection with bilateral co-operation between the two countries, Mr. Schumann pointed out that the Canadian Parliament's passing of the Official Languages Act had opened up wide-ranging prospects for France. In view of the results already obtained in the area of cultural co-operation, it was judged desirable that both countries endeavour henceforth to concentrate their efforts on scientific and technological co-operation. One aim of the fifth session of the Commission mixte culturelle, held in Paris in late September, was to outline an action program that would achieve this object.

From Mr. Schumann's visit it can be concluded that, although the situation of economic and trade relations can, generally speaking, be described as satisfactory where investments are concerned, there is still a great deal to be done to develop the volume of trade exchanges, which is remarkably low for such large trading countries as France and Canada. The two governments will make an effort to seek solutions to this situation.



*On September 28, 1971, in New York, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, presented a cheque for \$500,000 to Secretary-General U Thant to help defray the administrative and other costs of the United Nations relief work in East Pakistan. Canada has also contributed \$7 million in food aid to East Pakistan through the World Food Program of the United Nations.*

*This photograph shows Mr. Sharp making the presentation, while Canada's Permanent Representative to the UN, Mr. Yvon Beaulne, looks on.*



## *Oral History Program*

COMPLEMENTING its normal activities in the field of historical research, the Department of External Affairs has established an oral history program of taped interviews with former Ministers, senior officials, and other Canadians prominently associated with Canada's external relations. This is a continuing program and interviews are conducted on a regular basis by Departmental officers and academic specialists.

The interviews are designed to supplement the Department's written records of important events and decisions in which those being interviewed were involved, since such records do not always tell the full story. For example, written records cannot always convey the atmosphere in which decisions are taken. Moreover, they are at times silent about the reasoning behind certain decisions. Indeed some decisions can go completely unrecorded. Only the men who take the decisions can complete the picture, can convey this sort of knowledge, which is important for a deeper and fuller understanding of policies and events.



*Mr. Green (right) is interviewed in the Historical Sound Recordings Unit of the Public Archives by Mr. Arthur Blanchette, co-ordinator of the oral history program.*



Modern recording equipment and techniques have made it possible to fill such gaps and to add to the records, thereby increasing the knowledge available to scholars interested in Canada's foreign policy and the Department's past.

The oral history tapes and transcripts of the interviews become part of the Department's historical archives and, as such, will eventually be deposited in the Public Archives of Canada, where they will be available to researchers in due course. Meanwhile, like the Department's normal records, the tapes and transcripts are subject to the Government's policies regarding access to its classified documents. Most will, accordingly, have to remain closed to researchers for some time owing to the nature of their contents. Nevertheless, it is the Department's hope that some of the tapes and transcripts can be released immediately or fairly soon.

The first former Minister to be interviewed, on the inauguration of the program, was the Honourable Howard C. Green, Secretary of State for External Affairs between 1959 and 1963. A series of comprehensive interviews covering all aspects of the major international problems he dealt with as Secretary of State for External Affairs was arranged for him in Ottawa and in Vancouver.

## *OAU Delegation Visits Ottawa*

ON September 30, 1971, a delegation from the Organization for African Unity led by Moktar Ould Daddah, President of Mauritania, visited Ottawa to discuss Southern African questions with leaders of the Canadian Government. President Daddah, currently the chairman of the OAU, was given a mandate by the OAU Heads of State and Government Conference held in Addis Ababa in June of this year to lead a delegation on a visit to the United Nations, the United States, Canada, Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Sweden. A similar delegation, led by President Kaunda of Zambia, visited Italy, West Germany, Britain, France and the United Nations last year.

Before visiting Ottawa, President Daddah had a wide-ranging conversation with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, at the United Nations in New York on various questions concerning Southern Africa. With them in their meeting were the Secretary-General of the OAU and Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations.

While in New York, President Daddah addressed the United Nations General Assembly and appeared before the Security Council, which was meeting to discuss Namibia. He subsequently met President Nixon in Washington.



*President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania (left) walks through a corridor in Canada's Parliament Buildings accompanied by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau (centre) and Senator Paul Martin, Leader of the Government in the Senate.*

The Ottawa program of September 30 consisted of a lunch given by Senator Paul Martin, Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs and Leader of the Government in the Senate, a visit to the House of Commons, where the delegation was recognized by the Speaker of the House, a meeting with the Prime Minister, a call on the Governor General, and a press conference at the National Press Club.

The OAU mission explained its mandate, described in greater detail some of the problems of Southern Africa and expressed its appreciation to Canada for its position on the issues of Southern Africa and for Canadian development assistance to African countries. Members of the Canadian Government reiterated Canada's commitment to the eradication, by practical but peaceful means, of the evils of racism and colonialism. Canada's contribution to development assistance of African countries was cited as the most tangible expression of its dedication to the cause of racial equality and freedom in Africa.

At the lunch, Senator Martin welcomed the delegation and went on to state:

The challenges presented by the continued existence of regimes based on racial intolerance and colonial discrimination in Southern Africa is a matter of concern to the member countries of the OAU, and to all men everywhere who value social justice and human rights. The abhorrence felt by Canadians for the iniquitous system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practiced in South Africa has been expressed by Canadian representatives at the United Nations and elsewhere. . . .

The friendly mood of the exchange of views between the OAU delegation and the Canadian Government representatives was reflected in the message subsequently sent by President Ould Daddah to Prime Minister Trudeau:

In taking my leave, I should like to express on my own behalf and that of the delegation accompanying me a deep appreciation of the warm welcome Your Excellency has afforded us during our brief stay in your lovely capital. I shall take this opportunity to mention my delight in the friendly atmosphere of our talks. Finally, it is my wish that the relations of many kinds that link Canada and Africa may develop even further in the interest of our nations and of universal peace.

Included in the delegation visiting Ottawa were: Captain Charles Samba Cissoko, Foreign Minister of Mali; Mr. Jean Keutchia, Foreign Minister of Cameroun; representatives of the Foreign Ministers of Zambia, Algeria and Kenya; and Messrs Diallo Telli and Mohammed Sahnoun, the Secretary-General and Assistant Secretary-General of the OAU respectively. The Foreign Minister of Mauritania also accompanied President Ould Daddah, and the delegation included a number of OAU officials.

After visiting Canada, the OAU delegation proceeded to New York *en route* to the five Nordic countries.



# *Canada and UNICEF: Twenty-five Years of Action*

The 1970 Report of the United Nations Secretary-General to the Commission for Social Development of the Economic and Social Council describes the world's achievements to date on the behalf of children in these words:

"It is a tragic fact that at the end of the 1960s there are more sick, more undernourished, and more uneducated children in the world than there were ten years ago. Unless the international community is prepared to give vastly greater support, the next ten years will find the number of neglected children increased by millions — despite all the efforts of developing countries, including endeavours by some to curb population growth. Every half minute, 100 children are born in developing countries. Twenty of them will die within the year. Of the 80 who survive, 60 will have no access to modern medical care during their childhood. An equal number will suffer from malnutrition during the crucial weaning and toddler age — with the possibility of irreversible physical and mental damage; and during this period their chance of dying will be 20 to 40 times higher than if they lived in Europe or North America. Of those who live to school age, only a little more than half will ever set foot in a classroom, and fewer than four out of ten of those who do enter will complete the elementary grades. This situation is especially disturbing when we realize that three-quarters of all the world's children under 15 years of age — nearly a billion children — live in developing countries."

One of the foremost organizations fighting to end this misery is UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund. Since 1946, the year of its formation, UNICEF has accomplished much, including: the examination for yaws of more than 425 million children and the treatment of 23 million suffering from the disease; the vaccination of nearly 400 million against tuberculosis; the treatment of 43 million for trachoma; the equipping of close to 12,000 main rural health centres and 38,000 sub-centres in 132 countries; and the provision of equipment to some 2,500 teacher-training schools and 56,000 associated primary and secondary schools. The accomplishments of UNICEF have been such that in 1965 the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the organization in recognition of its efforts toward the securing of peace in the world.

When UNICEF was established as a part of the UN "family" of agencies, it was seen essentially as an emergency organization, which could presumably, after completing its task, be abolished. However, subsequent to UNICEF's postwar restoration of services for children, it was not abolished, but rather reoriented by the UN General Assembly toward meeting the specific needs of children in developing countries throughout the world.

Over the years since its establishment, UNICEF has developed a unique

role of providing a comprehensive program of services for the whole child. UNICEF favours projects that are geared to country priorities and are an integral part of national development efforts. Current assistance trends, reflecting some of the major requirements of developing countries, include work in the fields of maternal and child health, nutrition, education, and family and child welfare. Through co-ordination and co-operation with other agencies in the United Nations system (WHO, FAO, ILO and UNESCO), UNICEF helps ensure provision of the expert services needed at all stages of planning, implementation and assessment of projects. In addition, UNICEF continues to provide aid for mothers of children in special situations of acute need. Only if the many frightful disasters that have occurred recently — in Nigeria, Peru and Pakistan — are kept in mind, can the urgency of such a service be truly appreciated.

Canadian support for UNICEF comes from both the Federal Government and the general public. In 1970, governments contributed almost \$35 million to UNICEF, the Government of Canada giving some \$1,170,400. Canada's governmental contribution since UNICEF was established totals \$22 million. Canada has supported rehabilitation work in several countries through material and cash donations. One example of provincial participation in UNICEF is that of British Columbia, which donated over \$100,000 in response to emergencies in Turkey, Peru and East Pakistan. The Canadian public, responsive to the desperate need of children in developing countries, is generally very sympathetic to UNICEF appeals. People of all ages can actively participate in the work of the United Nations through Hallowe'en collections, greeting card and calendar sales and "Miles for Millions" walks. The Canadian National Committee for UNICEF has stimulated an awareness and appreciation of the work of UNICEF that has lead to a contribution increase of nearly 25 per cent over the past year, through the work of highly dedicated volunteers. Private donations from Canada for 1970 totalled some \$1,528,000 and have added \$8 million to UNICEF's budgets since the organization was formed. The National Committee, assisted by grants from the Government of Canada and "Miles for Millions" campaigns, has, moreover, adopted projects in India, Brazil, Niger and Malawi, in the fields of family planning, nutrition training, family and child welfare and health services.

As a result of the Second United Nations Development Decade, which has only recently begun, UNICEF's responsibilities will continue to grow in importance and complexity. The year 1971 marks for the organization a quarter century of service to mankind — 25 years of hard work approached with determination and performed with distinction. Yet there remain still greater challenges to be met. There are at present nearly three-quarters of a billion children in 112 developing countries assisted by UNICEF and their number is expected to double in the next 30 years. As the world's child population soars, particularly in developing areas, and migration to cities proceeds virtually uncontrolled, UNICEF is ever increasing its efforts to mitigate the plight of children. With unstinting assistance, UNICEF can continue to provide a brighter future for every child.

## *Visit to Canada of the Malaysian Prime Minister*

The following is the text of the joint Malaysia-Canada communiqué issued during the recent visit to Canada by the Prime Minister of Malaysia:

"At the invitation of the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, the Honourable Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Dato Hussein, and his wife, Toh Puan Rahah, paid an official visit to Canada from October 6 to 10, 1971. The Prime Minister was accompanied by senior officials of the Government of Malaysia.

"During their stay in Ottawa, the Prime Minister and Toh Puan Rahah stayed at Government House in Ottawa as guests of Their Excellencies the Governor General and Mrs. Michener.

"The Prime Minister of Malaysia held discussions with the Prime Minister of Canada and other Ministers of the Canadian Government. In the course of the meetings, which were held in the friendly and informal atmosphere characteristic of members of the Commonwealth, they discussed both bilateral and international issues of mutual interest and common concern.

"The two Prime Ministers noted with gratification the existing close relations between Malaysia and Canada and expressed their confidence that the visit of the Prime Minister of Malaysia to Canada would further strengthen the ties of friendship between the two countries. They expressed satisfaction at the continued growth of co-operation between Canada and Malaysia in the political, cultural and economic fields and particularly in that of economic development. It was agreed that such co-operation should be continued and developed through regular exchanges of views at various levels between the two governments.

"The Prime Minister of Malaysia expressed his appreciation for Canadian technical and financial assistance extended to Malaysia. He explained the goals and objectives of the Second Malaysia Plan on which his Government had just embarked and invited both continued Canadian interest and participation in the implementation of the Plan.

"The Prime Minister of Canada expressed his sympathy with the goals and implementation of the Second Malaysia Plan and confirmed Canada's continuing interest and participation in the development programs of Malaysia. It is in this context of close co-operation that on October 7 the two Heads of Government signed the Loan Agreement of the West Malaysia Power System Extension. They also noted with satisfaction the recent conclusion of an agreement relating to the insurance of Canadian investments in Malaysia and expressed confidence that it would serve to encourage such investments to the benefit of both countries.

"During their exchange of views on the international situation, they confirmed their desire to continue efforts to strengthen international peace and



security. They welcomed the developing contacts between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China as progress towards reducing tension and furthering international peace and security, particularly in Asia. They considered that the increased participation of the People's Republic of China in world affairs which had been evident of late could help in the achievement of a more peaceful and harmonious world order. They believed that membership of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would contribute to that end and would add a new element of realism to international deliberations affecting world peace and security.

"The two leaders expressed their common support for the United Nations and its efforts to achieve international peace and security and to ensure economic and social progress in larger freedom everywhere. They reiterated their conviction that questions at issue between nations should be solved by peaceful means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

"The two leaders expressed their serious concern over the situation in Indochina and stressed the right of the peoples there to live in peace and security, which they had not known for over two decades. They expressed the hope that a viable peace would be established in the area, consistent with the aspirations and wishes of the peoples of the countries concerned.



*The Malaysian Prime Minister, the Honourable Tun Abdul Razak, and Canada's Prime Minister Trudeau shake hands after signing the Loan Agreement of the West Malaysia Power System Extension.*

"Towards ensuring the future peace, stability and security of Southeast Asia, the Prime Minister of Malaysia explained his Government's proposal concerning the guaranteed neutralization of the region. The Prime Minister of Canada expressed his interest and understanding concerning the proposal and wished the Prime Minister of Malaysia well in his efforts in that direction.

"The Prime Minister of Malaysia expressed his sincere gratitude and appreciation for the kindness and warm hospitality extended to him, his wife and members of his delegation during their visit, by the Government and people of Canada."

The visit of the Prime Minister of Malaysia to Canada followed the official visit of Prime Minister Trudeau to Malaysia in May 1970 and a visit to Sabah, one of the states of East Malaysia, in January 1971, at the time of the Singapore Conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government. During his stay in Ottawa, in addition to his discussions with the Prime Minister, Tun Razak met with the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce. Members of his party also met with Mr. Paul Gérin-Lajoie, President of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and agency officials. Following his visit to the capital, Tun Razak travelled to Vancouver, where he spent two days before his departure from Canada. In both Ottawa and Vancouver he met a number of Canadian businessmen, many with investment interests in Malaysia, reflecting the developing relations between the two countries, particularly in the economic sphere.

Reinforced by the close Commonwealth links developed over the years since independence in 1957, Canada's interests in Malaysia have centred on economic development and Malaysia has been designated as a country of concentration for Canadian aid. Trade between the two countries has grown steadily and Canadian private investment has also been increasing. The recent signing of a bilateral investment insurance agreement will provide a vehicle for the further expansion of economic relations, which both governments are anxious to encourage.

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Mr. A. C. H. Smith transferred from the Department of External Affairs to the Canadian International Development Agency, effective September 1, 1971.
- Mr. D. L. Smith appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 4, effective September 1, 1971.
- Mr. J. Heffel appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 4, effective September 1, 1971.
- Mr. F. Leclair appointed to the Department of External Affairs and seconded to l'Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique, Bordeaux, effective September 1, 1971.
- Mr. H. E. Ezrin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian High Commission, New Delhi, effective September 3, 1971.
- Mr. J. R. Schram posted from Ottawa to the Canadian High Commission, Lagos, effective September 6, 1971.
- Mr. G. G. J. D. Buick posted from the Canadian High Commission, Georgetown, to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 6, 1971.
- Mr. J. D. R. Roy seconded from the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce to the Department of External Affairs and posted to the Canadian Embassy, Oslo, effective September 6, 1971.
- Mr. J-Y. Grenon posted from Ottawa to the University of Montreal as Foreign Service Visitor for the academic year 1971-72, effective September 7, 1971.
- Mr. R. V. Gorham appointed Head of the Department of External Affairs' Press Office, effective September 7, 1971.
- Mr. H. P. G. Fraser posted from the Canadian High Commission, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective September 10, 1971.
- Mr. G. L. Kristianson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to the Canadian High Commission, Georgetown, effective September 8, 1971.
- Mr. H.-C. Ahrens posted from the Canadian High Commission, Lagos, to Ottawa, effective September 10, 1971.
- Mr. D. W. Campbell posted from Ottawa to the Canadian High Commission, London, effective September 10, 1971.
- Miss E. Hesketh resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective September 10, 1971.
- Miss P. R. Cordingley posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to Ottawa, effective September 10, 1971.
- Mr. L. P. Lepage posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective September 10, 1971.
- Mr. F. M. Meech posted from the Canadian High Commission, London, to the Canadian Embassy, Tehran, effective September 10, 1971.
- Mr. M. I. Dolgin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santiago, effective September 11, 1971.
- Mr. A. G. Vincent posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective September 11, 1971.
- Mr. D. Stansfield appointed Canadian Ambassador to the Arab Republic of Egypt, effective September 11, 1971.
- Mr. D. M. Miller posted from the Canadian High Commission, London, to Ottawa, effective September 14, 1971.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *World Neighbourhood*

ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LESTER B. PEARSON TO THE  
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF ACTUARIES, IN TORONTO,  
NOVEMBER 8, 1971.

**I**N both our countries we are going through troublous and difficult times. It is something we share with others throughout the world. I do not know why we should have expected otherwise. It is obvious that the gap between our technical and scientific progress, which has been phenomenal and unprecedented, and our reluctance — even, at times, our refusal — to adapt our social, political and economic ideas and institutions to that progress was bound to create uneasiness, unrest, disturbance and conflict. If you add to this the massive effort of sovereign nation states, into which our world remains divided, to destroy each other by two world wars in the first half of this “terrible twentieth century”, how could we ever expect to go back to the relative peace and calm of the Victorian age? Indeed, it is our desire, often unconscious and shown in so many and different ways, that we should go back, rather than make essential adaptation to change, that has caused much of our trouble, along with insistence on the other extreme — that we should destroy everything, wipe everything out that is associated with the past (ideas, institutions and values), so that we could start all over again, presumably in a tent or a cave with a wheelbarrow and a spear.

## **Difficulty of Middle Position**

It is a hard time for the man, or the nation, who rejects the doctrines and the policies of extremism, of both left and right, and who wants to pursue, and hopes his country will pursue, a rational course in the middle. The middle can be a frustrating place in an era of change, especially if you feel involved, as you should, in that change. For one thing, moderate and rational views will rarely reach the media of communication; they are not exciting enough to counteract the prejudices and passions and stupidities of the extremists. For this and other reasons, it is not easy to make much impact or progress in the middle. Indeed, you may merely be run down by the traffic on either side.

In this period of turmoil and change, therefore, it is not surprising that the course of relations between nations, even friendly nations, has not been smooth and untroubled. Perhaps we may get some comfort out of the fact that there have not been more disasters. If we have avoided the worst catastrophies (I am talking about man-made ones), we can attribute this in part to the development of some sense of international community, however inadequate, along with inter-

national institutions that not only recognize in principle the essential interdependence of all peoples but also, on occasion, have converted that recognition into practical co-operation.

Of greater immediate importance as protection against disaster is the awareness of the two super-powers that each one can now destroy the other but that, in doing so, each will destroy itself and the whole world by the use of the unprecedented power it now possesses and which, therefore, it dare not use. Suicide at least is not a calculated objective of national policy, although it may seem to be on occasion and though it may be an accidental result of such policy. This is the ultimate irony, the final absurdity — power reaching the stage where it immobilizes itself and where its possession becomes the only effective deterrent against its use.

Notwithstanding these partially reassuring features of the contemporary scene (and there are others, of course), there remains a great deal of evidence to support the observation of James Branch Cabell made at an earlier time, in 1926:

The optimist proclaims that we live in the best of all possible worlds. The pessimist fears this is true.

### **Bedding with an Elephant**

The difficulty of maintaining co-operative and constructive relations across an international border is shown even in the case of two such traditionally good neighbours and close friends as Canada and the U.S.A. The responsibility for maintaining such relations rests on both sides, and both will suffer if that responsibility is ignored or betrayed. On the American side, this means showing more concern about the difficulty itself and more understanding of its nature, its significance and its complexity. On the Canadian side, there is naturally no question of unawareness or unconcern. To use our Prime Minister's colourful analogy, when you are in bed with an elephant, its slightest movement cannot be taken lightly. Furthermore, if you are crushed, it does not matter, except to your pride, whether the elephant was a "rogue" or a "pet", or whether the damage was done by calculated planning or by amiable carelessness. When the elephant shows any sign of rolling over, therefore, look sharp and adjust. For Canada, protective adjustment is a first essential and requires a cool head, sound rather than emotional judgment based on a clear understanding of Canadian interests, confidence in our strength and awareness of our weaknesses. It requires also a determination to defend those interests, without whining or provocation, but with steadiness and resolution.

In this connection, both governments should never forget that there is a more varied and more friendly — even a more intimate — association between our peoples than between those of any other two countries in the world. In that association, moreover, there is a growing interdependence and intercommunication, and a great admixture of interests and contacts. This is shown not only in



our political and official relations but also in those of the business, professional, trade union, religious, communications, cultural, recreational and sporting worlds. This conference is only one evidence of these close continental contacts.

### **Reality of the Border**

While our border does not politically divide us in fear and hostility from each other, nevertheless it is a very real one. For Canada, it is the evidence of a separate political and national identity which we wish to keep. This is no easy thing to do. No people have faced a more challenging task. From our beginning, we have had many and heavy obstacles to overcome which stood in the way of building a united Canadian federation from one ocean to the other — obstacles which would have defeated men and women of lesser courage and vision than our forefathers possessed. I believe that we, too, can overcome current difficulties and obstacles to national unity. But that is *our* responsibility. Nobody is going to do it for us. Certainly, if we cannot succeed in establishing national unity and creating a Canadian feeling and identity, it will be idle and unfair to blame it on anybody but ourselves. So, while we rightly worry about a U.S. takeover, we should worry far more about whether there will be a separate Canadian identity and unity to be defended from that takeover.

Domestic issues, then, are our first priority. But we also face external difficulties and problems. Often it is impossible to separate the two. The most worrying of these arises out of the nature of the relation between our two peoples. While this is very close and friendly, it is also a relation between two states differing very greatly in power, in wealth and in world responsibilities; where the bigger has in its hands decisions which always influence and can even determine the future, the very survival, of the smaller; where the United States also has acquired such an economic stake in, and such a measure of control over the development of, its neighbour that there is bound to be the anxiety and apprehension that comes from great dependence — even if that dependence has developed with no unfriendly purpose behind it, and without the force or threat of force which is the hallmark of the dependence which characterizes the relations between big and smaller totalitarian dictatorships.

### **Association Without Absorption**

We shall do our best in Canada — you would not have much respect for us if we did not — to see that, in this close relation, association is not confused with absorption. But we shall always, I hope, make this clear by word and by action in a manner that recognizes the importance and value of the closest, friendliest possible relations between us. In Canada, naturally and wisely, we seek to expand, broaden and diversify our interests and add to our contacts with other countries, with some of which we have not had the close and cherished connections that we have had with certain others. In doing this, I hope and believe that we shall not forget, or minimize, the unique character of the relations that exist

between the two free peoples that share this continent. It is no reflection on the desirability — indeed the necessity — for friendly co-operation between *all* peoples on this crowded and soon-to-be-dangerously-overcrowded little planet, whatever their political or social or economic ideologies and systems of life may be, to recognize and seek to maintain a special bond between neighbours on the same continent who share, among other things, the belief that the rights of the individual are more important than those of the state; that the citizen can, within the law, criticize his government, reject its policies, and throw it out of office; that he can lead a parade to demonstrate against his own temporary political masters or even, if he feels strongly enough about it, against the policy of a friendly neighbouring government. There can never be the same kind of association with a regime that permits none of these things, for reasons that may seem to it good and sufficient and may even be accepted by the mass of its people but that are alien to our own conception of human rights and personal freedoms. That is, no doubt, what our Prime Minister had in mind when he said to an interviewer the other day:

We shall always be . . . much closer to the Americans, and not only in a geographical sense, than we ever shall be to the Russians.

### **Goodwill and Understanding**

We have this bond (What shall I call it? This bond of basic beliefs) between our two countries. We have other bonds of good neighbourhood that we should not allow to be weakened by any action or policy on either side of the boundary — particularly at this time, when new problems have been created for Canada by economic decisions taken in Washington. We can solve the problems arising out of these decisions by goodwill and understanding, by a clear appreciation of where the long-range interests and advantages of our two independent, but inevitably closely associated, countries lie. If we do not show these qualities, we shall be in serious trouble, for the problems between us are increasingly complicated and serious, as recent developments have made clear. They could mean a very real threat to a good and mutually-beneficial long-term relationship. We shall not, however, solve these bilateral problems, or help to solve those on the larger international front, by retreating within our borders or within our own continent.

So far as broader international issues are concerned, the policies of the United States, for better or worse, are of much greater importance, of course, than those of Canada, since the United States has the awesome responsibility that goes with super-power. For Canada also, however, there is no hope in insulation, and no future in isolation. It is true that the political and economic interests of its own people must be the first priority of any Canadian Government. Nevertheless, I know of no country in the world where those national interests are more greatly influenced than Canada is by what goes on in the rest of the world, and particularly in the United States.

## **World Context of National Policies**

Indeed, no country today, not even the most powerful one, can rightly or safely consider its own policies, national or continental, except in the context of world policies, of world problems, of world opportunities — or even of world dangers to its very survival. None of our major problems today, including those new and vitally important ones concerned with outer space, or under water, or with man's total environment, can be solved by national action alone. Not one. So it could be fatal for the future if we do not lift our sights over and above our national borders — even further, over the borders of the affluent industrial world that today possesses most of the resources and wealth and technological expertise — to those economically-underdeveloped countries in which the great majority of the world's people today live their years in poverty, distress and often despair.

National pressures, born of disillusion, irritation and frustration, seem to be increasing for withdrawal from international obligations and commitments, from external involvement and collective action. This certainly seems to be the case in the United States, for a variety of reasons that I cannot go into here. Some of them are rational and understandable, resulting from a feeling of over-extension and over-commitment. Some, I believe, are short-sighted and wrong. If they should result in any drastic change in international policy in the United States, this could have a far-reaching and, as I see it, a harmful effect throughout the world, as well as in America itself. You can't stop the world by getting off. We all have our obligations in these matters — Canada as much as any other country —, but the power and wealth which the U.S.A. now possesses and the international responsibilities it has accepted and discharged would make a change of course by it into protected home waters much more significant, and with far more important consequences, than a similar change by any other country or group of countries. It would be a tragedy, as unnecessary as it would be great, if the effort to bring about a general and effective system of international co-operation for the development of economically-backward countries were now allowed to diminish and collapse.

## **A Perilous Gap**

As the world moves, there is one thing that becomes clearer and clearer as a threat to world peace and stability, all the more dangerous because its consequences will not be immediate — at least in their effect on the fortunate and affluent minority. I refer, of course, to the notorious gap — not narrowing but widening — between those countries that, for one reason or another, have been able to enter the new world of science, industry and technology, with all that this means in material advance, and those — the great majority — that will be debarred from that entry for generations unless the richer developed countries assist them by the transfer of resources and skills and knowledge. I am not thinking of those transfers for political and military purposes that usually bear no relation to development assistance, except to confuse and distort it, but of the



kind of help that makes for a better, healthier and longer life for all people, that is organized and administered by international agreement and co-operation (not as charity but as something that is in the general interest), and that involves opportunities as well as obligations on both sides.

I have learned about this problem by direct personal contact in recent years. I know how much has been done, that successes have been achieved as well as failures suffered. I know that by far the greatest contributor to this effort has been the U.S.A.; that there is, in fact, a feeling in some quarters in that country that they are bearing more than their share of the burden. In absolute terms, they are much the largest donor; in relative terms, they are not; even less now than a few years ago. There are other and smaller developed countries with a lower *per capita* income whose percentage of national product allocated to development aid is considerably higher than that of the United States.

These comparisons, however, are petty in relation to the magnitude and importance of the problem — in all its aspects, demographic and social, as well as economic and political. We have learned a lot about what we call “foreign aid” in the last 20 years, what to do and what not to do — even more important, how to do it and how not to do it. If at this time, depressed and anxious about our mounting domestic problems, our discords and our difficulties, we turned our backs on effective international co-operation for more equitable economic and social progress in the world, we would be defaulting, not only on our international obligations but on the protection and promotion of our own long-range national interests. The effect of such default would not be felt today, but it could be disastrous for the future.

### **Outmoded Notions Must Go**

We have learned in our own national societies — or I hope we have — that residential suburbs surrounding ghettos and slums are intolerable and can only lead to bitterness and violence. We should learn that lesson for the world before it is too late. Yet we shall never learn it if our vision is obscured and distorted by national egoism and prejudice; if we are exclusively preoccupied with our domestic problems and interests; if we beggar our neighbours by shortsighted policies designed to enrich ourselves; in short, if we cling to old, traditional and narrow conceptions of national policy, national institutions, national interests, national sovereignty, long after scientific and technological progress has made many of them meaningless. This progress should have, but has not, compelled us to build internationally in a way that would reconcile the compulsions of universal order and security with the equal compulsion to retain separate communal and cultural national societies.

We should have learned by now that, if national sovereignty is no guarantee of security or even adequate protection for national rights in a world of international anarchy, there must be developed some better method for protecting those rights and guaranteeing security and progress. For this, international co-

operation, international organization, and collective action for decision-making are essential. Yet the hard and depressing fact is that success in achieving this seems further away now than 25 years ago. Even more depressing, governments and peoples now seem less concerned with that fact.

The astronauts who landed on the moon took beautiful colour pictures of our planet earth, enshrouded in veils of vapour. To them, it was indeed one world. Because man's genius in science and technology made it possible to bring their adventures and their achievements, their space argosy and their moon walks, into half a billion homes in "living colour", it was possible for the first time for mankind to perceive his planet as a single unit. The Society of the Flat Earth all but capitulated. Not so man's governors and rulers, who continue to build barriers around the nation states into which our "one world" is jigsawed, and where we feel from time to time that we must impose against each other "surcharges", and in return receive "counter-charges".

### **Tribal Emotions Still Strong**

The plain fact is that any feeling of global unity is still pitifully weak alongside the emotion that is implanted in us from birth for a special national group with a strong and compelling claim to our loyalty and love. It is far easier to annihilate physical distance between men than to destroy those old tribal feelings and instincts that so often divide them and that too often are kept strong by being focused against something or somebody. In short, as neighbourhood becomes an inescapable fact of functional, operating global life, political relations do not reflect that fact in any substantial way. People are often far ahead of governments in these matters.

Arnold Toynbee wrote a few weeks ago:

We are within sight of a time when Buddhists, pigeon-fanciers, morticians, Methodists, stamp-collectors, bird-watchers, physicists, lawyers, Roman Catholics, bankers, oilmen and an almost endless list of other sets of people who are drawn together by some common interest will be organizing themselves on a world-wide scale.

I hope that we shall soon be able to make more progress in organizing ourselves on a world scale for the greatest common interest of all — peace and very survival.

There will, however, be no hope for such progress on any broader front, on a world front, if the two separate national societies on this continent, Canada and the United States, cannot solve their own problems and difficulties with the fairness and good sense that comes from mutual understanding and genuine goodwill. I am confident that we can do so.

There are those who, in the face of gathering national and international clouds, feel like giving up and running away to hide. I once received a letter from a friend who, exposed to the turbulence and violence of life in the Middle East, and momentarily overcome by despondency, expressed his longing for:

escape from a world of unbelievable fraud, falsehood and hatred and passions that know no bounds; where there are no answers, where the chemicals of disaster surround us and no man can prevail.

He found too many people like the Oklahoma farmer in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* who took down his gun from the wall when the bank foreclosed the mortgage and asked "Who can I shoot?" The "who can I shoot" reaction, like that of running away, is perhaps understandable but it is futile, dangerous and it could be fatal.

Men in all ages have faced situations which seemed quite as menacing as ours. Yet throughout the ages there have always been the wise, the good, and the strong who have been able to find in themselves the resources which enabled them to meet and overcome the challenge. And so it *could* be, and I hope it *will* be in our own generation.

### MEMOIRS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE L. B. PEARSON

THE long and distinguished association of Mr. Pearson with International affairs in general and Canadian external affairs in particular is well known. He has for some time been engaged in writing his memoirs and, had it not been for other work he had undertaken, would probably have finished them by now. No doubt his recollections will find interested readers in many lands, and Canadians may expect them to be, among other things, a major contribution to their understanding of the events that shaped their country's international relations over two generations.

Mr. Pearson and his publisher, the University of Toronto Press, have agreed that the memoirs should appear in three volumes. Volume 1 will deal with his early life and official career to September 1948, Volume 2 with his work in External Affairs and politics between 1948 and 1958, and Volume 3 with his period as Leader of the Opposition and Prime Minister from 1958 to 1968. Except for minor textual revisions, Volume 1 was completed near the end of November 1971.

Much of the research for Volume 2 has been done and is on a subject-area basis (for example: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Palestine, Korea,



Mr. Pearson



Canada-United States defence relations). It is expected that the project will be completed in 1973. When his memoirs have been finished, Mr. Pearson plans to begin a book that will deal exclusively with Canadian foreign policy — past present and future.

Had Mr. Pearson not become involved in so many other activities recently, such as the World Bank Commission on International Development, the International Development Research Centre, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and the International Broadcast Institute (he is chairman of each of the last three organizations), to say nothing of his having written a number of books and of having lectured at Carleton University, his memoirs might have been completed by now.

The research involved in this project has been enormous. The public record, the secondary sources, personal papers and diaries, other private collections of papers and state papers (the volume of which is estimated in thousands of feet of shelf-space) are being searched. For this work he now has two research associates. Mr. Pearson estimates that, without their help, it would have taken him years merely to go through all the documents in question, let alone write a book based on them. Both these associates are professors of history and have had the advantage of doing research in the Historical Division of the Department of External Affairs.

The Canada Council provided a grant for one of the assistants, which enabled him to work on Mr. Pearson's foreign policy papers from the beginning of the year. In July 1971, the Donner Canadian Foundation provided Carleton University with a grant for the other research associate to supplement this work.

## *President Tito Visits Canada*

*The following joint communiqué was issued at the conclusion of the recent visit to Canada of the President of Yugoslavia:*

His Excellency Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Madame Broz paid a state visit to Canada from November 2 to 7, 1971, at the invitation of Governor-General Roland Michener. President Tito's visit served both to highlight the significant progress made in Canadian-Yugoslav relations and to further the cause of better understanding and co-operation between the two countries. President Tito and his party had an opportunity to become acquainted with the cultural diversity of Canada and the way of life of Canadians in many fields of endeavour and in various parts of the country.

President Tito was accompanied by H. E. Kiro Gligorov, Member of the Presidency of the SFRY; H. E. Vidoje Zarkovic, President of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro and Member of the Presidency of the SFRY; H. E. Mirko Tepavac, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Madame Tepavac; H. E. Mirjana Krstinic, Member of the Federal Executive Council; and others.

During their stay in Canada, which took place in an atmosphere reflecting the friendly relations between Canada and the Socialist Federal Republic of



*President Tito (right) with Canada's Governor-General Roland Michener.*

Yugoslavia, President Tito and his party held official talks in Ottawa and visited Quebec City and Halifax. In Ottawa, Governor-General Roland Michener gave a state dinner in honour of President Tito at Rideau Hall and the Prime Minister entertained him at lunch. President Tito was also introduced to Parliament. A group of senior businessmen was presented to President Tito by the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Mr. Pepin. The President and his party visited various scientific, cultural, educational and industrial places of interest. In the Province of Quebec, the President and his party toured Quebec City and were entertained at a dinner given by the Prime Minister of Quebec, the Honourable Robert Bourassa. In Halifax, President Tito was the guest of honour at a dinner given by the Premier of Nova Scotia, the Honourable Gerald Regan, and was the recipient of an honorary degree from Dalhousie University.

### **Various Conversations**

President Tito had official talks with Prime Minister Trudeau. Separate discussions were held between Mr. Tepavac, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Sharp. Mr. Gligorov and Madame Krstinic held discussions with Mr. Benson, Minister of Finance, as well as with Mr. Aitken, President of the Export Development Corporation. All these discussions, held in a spirit of frankness, cordiality and mutual understanding, provided an opportunity for a wide-ranging exchange of views on the current state and future prospects of Canadian-Yugoslav relations, as well as on international questions of common interest. Views were also exchanged on the current problems and future development of federal states.

The Canadian side outlined the basic aims of Canadian foreign policy, including the aim of working both with allies and other countries for the promotion of international peace, stability and understanding. The Yugoslav side elaborated the orientation of Yugoslavia's foreign policy, based on the principle of non-alignment. It was noted that the non-aligned countries had a useful role to play, together with all other countries, in promoting peaceful solutions to international problems and in encouraging wider co-operation among all countries, irrespective of differences or similarities.

Both sides affirmed the attachment of Canada and Yugoslavia to the cause of international peace and security and the improvement of relations between states on the basis of the principles of non-interference in internal affairs, renunciation of the use or the threat of force, mutual confidence, reciprocity and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. They also stated their conviction that peaceful relations between states are possible only in conditions of respect for sovereign equality, including the right of every state freely to choose and develop its political, social and economic systems, for independence and the territorial integrity of states and inviolability of frontiers.

Both sides expressed deep satisfaction with the expansion of Canadian-





*President Tito of Yugoslavia (left) is applauded by Dr. Henry D. Hicks, President of Dalhousie University, Halifax, on his receipt of an honorary doctorate of laws.*

Yugoslav relations and assessed the future prospects as encouraging. The contribution of past visits by governmental representatives of both countries to the growth of mutual confidence was noted and it was agreed that these should be expanded in future. Both sides, bearing in mind the specific features and approaches of the two countries, expressed the conviction that the future development of their relations was in the interest not only of the peoples of Canada and Yugoslavia but also of international co-operation generally. With this in mind, they undertook to increase the frequency of consultations at various levels on matters of common interest.

### **Commercial Exchanges**

The two sides noted with satisfaction the increased volume of commercial exchanges between Yugoslavia and Canada, and particularly the increasingly prominent role which finished goods have come to play in this trade. The contribution of visits of delegations, businessmen and officials to the growth of bilateral trade was further noted on both sides expressed the belief that joint ventures between Yugoslav and Canadian enterprises, standing on their mutually agreed merits and concluded on the basis of the regulations in effect in both countries, offered an effective means for further developing trade between the two countries. The two sides reviewed their current trade relationship and announced their mutual inten-

tion to bring it up to date through a renewal of the present bilateral trade agreement. Both sides would pursue their efforts to further develop and facilitate the flow of trade and other commercial exchanges between the two countries. They noted with satisfaction the recent increase in Canadian exports to Yugoslavia and agreed that a similar development of Yugoslav exports to Canada was desirable.

Both sides noted the important role of the Canadian Export Development Corporation in the growth of economic co-operation between Canada and Yugoslavia. It was noted that the value to date of the Export Development Corporation loans to Yugoslavia amount to approximately \$20 million and that complete agreement has been reached on a new loan of approximately \$40 million for the sale of locomotives which will be signed in the near future. In addition, negotiations are at present under way between the Export Development Corporation and five major Yugoslav enterprises representing loans amounting to approximately \$100 million for projects in the chemical, aircraft, mining, transportation and tourist industries. They agreed to examine the possibility of concluding a framework agreement relating to the guarantee by the Export Development Corporation of Canadian private investment in Yugoslavia.

In keeping with the mutual desire to develop bilateral relations, an exchange of letters took place between Canada and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia regarding the encouragement of further contacts and exchanges in science and technology, as well as in the industrial application of science and technology.

Welcoming the increase in travel by citizens of one country to the other, particularly tourists, and recognizing the role of tourism in the development of mutual knowledge and understanding, both sides agreed that negotiations for a civil aviation agreement should begin as soon as mutually convenient.

### **Consular Matters**

Both sides recognized the desirability of regulating their consular relations and, accordingly, it was agreed to negotiate a consular understanding.

Further, the Canadian side informed the Yugoslav side that, upon completion of the necessary administrative arrangements, non-immigrant visas for Yugoslav nationals visiting Canada would no longer be required and that, under certain conditions, multi-entry visas valid for one year would be made available to Yugoslav non-official representatives on posting to Canada. The Yugoslav side expressed its satisfaction and confirmed its intention to reciprocate in accordance with its established policy.

Both sides expressed the belief that Canadians of Yugoslav origin are a bridge for friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.

It was noted with satisfaction that Canadian immigration regulations and procedures now provide for the acceptance of independent applicants from Yugoslavia, in addition to sponsored dependents and nominated relatives.

The discussion of international questions revealed that similar views were

shared by both sides on a number of current problems. Both sides expressed the belief that, while the larger powers have special responsibilities, smaller powers also have an important role to play in international relations. The two sides welcomed recent efforts to reduce international tensions by negotiation. They expressed the hope that ever-wider areas and an ever-increasing number of countries would be included in this process. They were conscious of the fact that, because we live in an interdependent world, peace and security are indivisible.

In discussing the situation in Europe, they recognized the importance of the quadripartite agreement on Berlin as a step towards the easing of tensions. Hope was expressed that there would be a minimum of delay in the conclusion of all the steps necessary to bring the Berlin negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion — an outcome which would facilitate further measures to promote *détente* and stability.

### **Security Conference**

Welcoming these positive prospects, both sides looked forward to a properly-prepared conference on security and co-operation in Europe with the participation of all European states, Canada and the United States. They expressed the hope that such a conference would strengthen the security of Europe as a whole and would contribute to the normalization and improvement of relations among all European states on the basis of mutually-agreed principles. They considered that multilateral consultations on this matter between all interested countries would be useful.

The two sides expressed their conviction that the strengthening of international security and the safeguarding of universal peace are important objectives to be pursued, in particular through appropriate measures of arms control and disarmament, recognizing that the ultimate objective should be general and complete disarmament. In that regard, both sides support the objective of the balanced and reciprocal reduction of armed forces and armaments in areas where the military confrontation is particularly dangerous and especially in Europe.

As members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, both sides pledged their respective best efforts to achieve concrete progress on working to stop the arms race and looked forward to the continuation of useful contacts and co-operation between their delegations on a broad range of arms-control and disarmament issues in the Geneva Committee and at the United Nations General Assembly. They discussed their concern over continued nuclear testing and the need for a comprehensive test ban, the Canadian suggestions placed before the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament regarding ways of reducing underground nuclear-weapons testing pending a comprehensive test ban, as well as the draft convention prohibiting biological and toxin weapons which both parties support. Both sides will work toward endorsement of such a convention by the General Assembly, bearing in mind that this should lead toward the complete prohibition of chemical and bacteriological means of warfare.



The two sides expressed their satisfaction that the two major nuclear powers were pursuing negotiations in Helsinki and Vienna to limit strategic nuclear weapons and that the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof had been successfully concluded and opened for signature and ratification this year. Both sides noted, however, that a great deal of urgent work remained to be done to curtail and end the arms race, including particularly the nuclear arms race.

### **Areas of Tension**

Various areas of tension throughout the world were examined by the two sides. It was noted that the situation in East Pakistan, the presence of many million Pakistani refugees in India and the resulting high tension in the area continued to be a source of concern. It was agreed that the international community should take action to prevent the situation from deteriorating further, to encourage a political solution which would preserve the rights and interests of the people of the area, and to assist in the speedy and secure return of the refugees to their homes.

The two Governments expressed serious concern over the continuing lack of meaningful progress towards a comprehensive, just and permanent peace settlement in the Middle East. Both Governments agreed that such a settlement should be based on Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, maintaining its integrity. They expressed their support for the efforts of Ambassador Jarring, the special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, to promote the implementation of that resolution.

Views were exchanged on developments in Indochina. Hopes were expressed on both sides that a just and lasting peace would soon be re-established there.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction at the seating of the People's Republic of China as the sole representative of China in both the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations.

Canada and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia attach great importance to the United Nations. The two sides confirmed their determination to continue their efforts to strengthen the organization and to enhance its effectiveness in maintaining universal peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

The two sides acknowledged that the development problems of the under-developed regions of the world, particularly the growing disparities between the developed and developing countries, required urgent and co-operative action by the whole international community, bearing in mind, among other things, the importance which the alleviation of such problems has for the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with their meetings and exchanges of views which demonstrated once again the friendliness, mutual trust and constructive spirit which has come to characterize their relations.

# *The Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation*

## SECOND GENERAL CONFERENCE

FROM October 11 to 15, 1971, Canada played host to the Second General Conference of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation. The Conference, which met first in Ottawa and later in Quebec City, was attended by more than 200 delegates from 25<sup>(1)</sup> countries, on four continents, that are wholly or partially French-speaking.

With the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and all



*Opening of the Agency's Second General Conference in the Canadian Senate chambers. From left to right: the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada; Mr. Harou Kouka, outgoing President of the General Conference and Niger's Minister of National Education; and the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs.*

<sup>(1)</sup> The Agency's member states are Belgium, Burundi, Cameroun, Canada, Chad, Dahomey, France, Gabon, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, the Malagasy Republic, Mali, Mauritius, Monaco, Niger, the Republic of Viet-Nam, Rwanda, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia and Upper Volta. Other countries represented at the General Conference were the Central African Republic, the Khmer Republic, and Laos.

delegates in attendance, the Agency's Second General Conference was officially opened in the Canadian Senate chambers. Before declaring the conference open, the outgoing President, Mr. Harou Kouka, Minister of National Education for Niger, read a message from the President of his country, His Excellency Hamani Diori, one of the moving spirits of the Agency, who declared that its existence meant that concerted cultural action by the French-speaking countries was no longer just an idea but a reality.

Welcoming the other delegations, Mr. Trudeau reaffirmed Canada's profound interests in the international French-speaking community and the Agency:

. . . Almost four centuries ago, the French "fact" took root here in Canada. In spite of many difficulties, in spite of the overshadowing presence of the English language in North America, the French "fact" has survived; French has been spoken and jealously guarded for almost 400 years. Not only is French maintained, but, as you will see during your visits here, and especially in Quebec, it is celebrated and sung.

The French-speaking community is now a reality. We know that. However, seeing it assembled here so resolute moves us deeply, as I am sure you will understand. It gives the impression that the permanence of French Canada is now recognized throughout the world. . . .

Co-operation of the French-speaking countries arises not out of nostalgia but rather out of a desire for progress. The French-speaking community is not a remembrance of things past; it is the future. . . . That is why for some time now the governments of Quebec, New Brunswick, Ontario and Manitoba have worked with us in making the arrangements which gave birth to the Agency, and they continue to have greater access to it.

. . . The Government of Canada and the government of Quebec have agreed on procedures whereby Quebec is now admitted, as a participating government, to the Agency's institutions, activities and programs.

Following the Prime Minister of Canada's opening address, on a motion by Niger, the Honourable Gérard Pelletier, Secretary of State for Canada and chairman of the Canadian delegation, was elected as president of the Second General Conference. The other members of the Canadian delegation were Mr. François Cloutier, Quebec Minister of Cultural Affairs, Dr. Gaston Isabelle, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Jean-Marie Simard, New Brunswick Minister of Finance, Mr. Gaston Demers, special adviser to the Premier of Ontario, Mr. Laurent Desjardins, legislative assistant to the Premier of Manitoba, and several senior government officials.

### **Quebec a Participating Government**

At the request of the new President, the General Conference, meeting in plenary session, first took note of Prime Minister Trudeau's statement and the fact that the Government of Canada and the government of Quebec had agreed on procedures admitting Quebec, as a participating government, to the Agency's institutions, activities and programs, pursuant to Article 3.3 of its charter. Mr. Cloutier then stressed the importance of official recognition, which gave Quebec a greater voice in the French-speaking world:

Several times in the past I have had occasion to say that Quebec needed a French-speaking community. Now that such a community exists, Quebec feels less alone in the world. The survival of the French language in Quebec, which some writers have termed a miracle, remains possible in this age of breakthroughs and rapid communications only



in so far as it can find support in an organization of French-speaking countries. It seems to me that the destiny of the French language in Quebec is inextricably bound up with the inroads made by French in the world and its ability to adapt technologically.

The first report on the Agency's activities since its founding in Niamey, Niger, in March 1970, was then presented by Mr. Jean-Marc Léger, the Agency's Secretary-General. Pointing out that the first 18 months had been mainly spent organizing the Agency itself, Mr. Léger gave a matter-of-fact description of the activities and programs over the past year.

### **Activities and Programs**

Since the Agency's primary aim is to promote and spread the cultures of the member states and to intensify cultural and technical co-operation between them, the Secretariat concentrated its efforts in three major areas: teaching and research, development, culture and mutual understanding.

*Teaching and research:* In this area, the chief accomplishment was the setting up of the Bordeaux International School consisting of a Management Training Centre and a Centre for Introduction to the Realities of the Third World. The former was officially opened on September 15 of this year. Trainees from all member states and to intensify cultural and technical co-operation among them, team of professors headed by a Canadian.

Some 30 experts met in Niamey in February 1971 to discuss educational television. The purpose of the seminar was to lay the groundwork for a documentation and exchange centre and the formation of a team of technicians. The centre will begin operations in about a year and will be an invaluable source of information for the member states.

Teaching kits represented the third undertaking in this area. The Agency made teaching kits, containing a collection of basic textbooks, specialized textbooks and school supplies, available to relatively poorly equipped teachers in some countries of the Third World.

*Development:* Tourism and handicrafts are the two main areas involved. The Agency held two concurrent seminars in Monastir, Tunisia — one on tourism and the other on handicrafts — which gave rise to a series of recommendations for long-term action programs.

Publication was begun of a quarterly tourist information newsletter. The Agency was also responsible for starting an official tourism directory in the member countries. These two activities come under the Agency's acknowledged general information role and will be followed by the publication of a tourist guide to French-speaking countries.

The Agency set up the Travelling International Handicraft Exhibition, which in 1971 was to appear in the major cities of a number of member states. The purpose of the Exhibition was, on the one hand, to illustrate the richness and diversity of the cultures of the member states and, on the other, to promote the sale of African arts and crafts in Western markets. A collection of books from French-speaking Third World countries was one of the displays. The Canadian



*The Honourable Gérard Pelletier, head of the Canadian delegation and president of the General Conference of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation, talks with three members of the Secretariat of the Agency. Left to right: Mr. Hyacinthe de Montéra, Deputy Secretary-General; Mr. Jean-Marc Léger, Secretary-General; Mr. Pelletier; and Mr. Michel Kekeh, Deputy Secretary-General.*

cities visited by the Exhibition last summer were Moncton, Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and Winnipeg.

*Culture and mutual understanding:* This is a particularly important aspect of the Agency's program. As Mr. Léger pointed out:

. . . the interest of the Agency and its *raison d'être* lie in its ability to instill in each of our peoples the fervent quest for the other and to bring about this permanent meeting and fruitful confrontation of cultures. . . . It would be to the honour of our shared language to be the means *par excellence* of a true cultural dialogue among the great cultures of Africa, the East and the West, a cultural dialogue bearing not only on the distinguished heritage of these cultures but also on all forms of their contemporary creativity. It is not enough simply to bring together what has been and what still remains; it is just as important, at least, to develop all possibilities, to facilitate the blossoming and the dissemination of the works of today.

It was in this spirit that the Agency held a seminar on films and books that brought together many experts in Dakar in November 1970. The emerging recommendations also outline a long-term plan of action. The film recommendations favour an international consortium for French-speaking countries, the setting-up of a temporary office for promotion and the passing by member states of appropriate legislation to ensure development of a national film industry. The book recommendations cover free circulation, production of works suited to African conditions, the setting up of a multi-national publishing firm and the training of upper and middle management in the publishing and bookstore fields.



In addition to holding the seminar, the Agency established a major cinema award by lending its support to a few feature-length films made in Africa, and assisted literary creation by contributing to the publication and distribution of works by Third World writers or dealing with a Third World theme. Finally, it stimulated competition at the African cultural centres for the compiling and transcription of oral traditions in Africa.

Still in the context of culture and mutual understanding, the Agency, feeling that the participation of young people was essential to its activities, set up a youth exchange program. In August nearly 200 young people from Africa, the islands of the Indian Ocean, Viet-Nam, the Moghreb (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia), the Caribbean and the French-speaking Western world set off on a voyage of discovery and information. The experience proved worthwhile, and the Agency hopes next year to double the number of young people taking part in this venture. This year some 30 young foreign nationals visited Canada and the same number of young Canadians travelled to Africa.

### **Committees and Future Activities**

The General Conference split into three committees — the Legal Committee, the Programs Committee and the Administrative and Finance Committee —, which met *in camera* to decide on the Agency's activities and programs for the next two years.

A number of guide-lines for the Agency's activities over the next two years resulted from the work in committees. The emphasis was partly on concentrating action along two or three basic lines, with long-term objectives in view, emphasizing co-ordination and liaison with national or international bodies and helping to promote and disseminate in the French language the national cultures and traditions of the Agency's member states. To continue the efforts made in 1971, a series of specific programs was also adopted.

To realize these objectives, the Agency set its budget at \$2.5 million for 1972 and at \$3.5 million for 1973. The contributions of member states were established as follows: France 46.34 per cent, Canada 35 per cent, Belgium 12.25 per cent, Republic of Viet-Nam 0.75 per cent, Luxembourg 0.66 per cent, Monaco 0.36 per cent. The 16 remaining Agency members will make up the rest (4.63 per cent) under terms to be arranged. The government of Quebec, with the approval of the Federal Government, contributes to the Canadian share. In 1971, Quebec supplied 50 per cent of the Canadian contribution to the Agency's operations budget and 5 per cent of the contribution to the programs budget.

### **Closing of Second General Conference**

For its last three days, the conference moved from Ottawa to Quebec City, where the closing session took place in the Quebec National Assembly chambers. Mr. Robert Bourassa, Prime Minister of Quebec, speaking to what he called the first



universal French-speaking parliament, recalled the ties existing between culture and the economy in the development of nations:

Quebec is a living example of the complementary relation between culture and the economy. In some ten years our society has reached a level of development which gives it a respectable position among the industrialized nations of the world. The United States of America, the epitome of modern science and technology, is our next-door neighbour. We are part of a continent largely dominated by the English language and *anglophone* culture, but in spite of that we have continued for centuries to live in French and to share *francophone* values and culture with you. In the past ten years an extraordinary flourishing and expansion of our *francophone* culture has taken place in Quebec. In literature, new sales records are being set every year; a number of our writers and poets now produce works for a universal audience. Our singers and composers and our theatre are all finding acclaim both here and abroad. . . .

Each day we must take up the challenge to impress humanist values, which have always been the most obvious sign of *francophone* culture, upon this continent caught up in material values.

The Honourable Gérard Pelletier, president of the conference, then closed the session by summarizing the highlights of the week spent in Canada:

For us this conference has been the occasion for a first accounting. We have carefully examined the activities undertaken and have attempted to make them more effective. From the new projects suggested, we have selected those which appear to be the most advantageous. We have centered the Agency's work on the important areas of culture and technology. . . .

From all our discussions, however, one conclusion is obvious. Not only does the Agency exist, but it is beginning to make great strides. Indeed, at Niamey we could well wonder what would happen to this frail child into whom we had just breathed life. This past year has shown that the Agency had an important role to play. During the year, and more especially again this week, we have seen it as an agency for common action on which we could found our dearest hopes.

## *Prime Minister of Ceylon Visits Canada*

**I**N response to an invitation by Prime Minister Trudeau during his visit to Ceylon in January 1971, Prime Minister Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike visited Canada for the first time from October 21 to 23. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Ceylonese Director-General of External Affairs, Mr. Vernon Mendis, and her Private Secretary, Dr. Machie Ratwatte. His Excellency P. H. William de Silva, the Ceylonese High Commissioner to Canada, was also a member of the visiting delegation.

In Ottawa Mrs. Bandaranaike held talks with Prime Minister Trudeau and the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs. She visited Parliament, where she was received by the Honourable Lucien Lamoureux, Speaker of the House of Commons, and attended a performance at the National Arts Centre, accompanied by the Honourable John Turner, Minister of Justice.

Since the Ceylonese Prime Minister's schedule permitted her to remain in Canada only a few days, the program for her visit was so arranged that she could see as much of the country and gain as broad an impression of Canadian life as possible. In addition to Ottawa, Mrs. Bandaranaike visited Niagara Falls, Toronto and Montreal, where she was made welcome by provincial and civic leaders.

During her talks with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Ceylonese Prime Minister informed them of Ceylon's internal situation as a result of the country's insurgency difficulties last April. Canada's program of bilateral development assistance to Ceylon was discussed and priorities under the island's new Five Year Plan were reviewed. Mrs. Bandaranaike said high priority would be given to the agricultural sector of the economy in an attempt to achieve a greater degree of self-sufficiency. Ceylon's effort to gain agreement in the United Nations for an Indian Ocean "peace zone", free from super-power rivalry, was discussed. The Ceylonese visitors informed Mr. Sharp that they had nominated their Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Mr. Shirley Amerasinghe as a candidate for Secretary-General upon U Thant's retirement. Mrs. Bandaranaike expressed grave concern over the internal political difficulties between East and West Pakistan and the resultant tension that had developed between Ceylon's major South Asian neighbours.

### **Mrs. Bandaranaike's Career**

Sirimavo Bandaranaike came to international prominence in 1960 following her late husband's assassination, when she won the Ceylonese national election and became the world's first woman prime minister. In the 1965 election, her party failed to retain a majority of seats and for the following five years she presided as Leader of the Opposition — again, the first woman to hold this office. Her determination and hard work were rewarded when, in May 1970, she won an over-

whelming victory and returned for a second time to preside over Ceylon's Government. Her visit was considered an important success in renewing the friendly relations that had traditionally existed between Canada and Ceylon.

Tributes to Mrs. Bandaranaike's late husband had been offered at a commemorative ceremony arranged by Mr. de Silva in Ottawa late in September. The speakers on that occasion had included the Honourable Paul Martin, Leader of the Government in the Senate, Mr. David Lewis, Leader of the New Democratic Party, and Mr. Heath McQuarrie of the Progressive Conservative Party.



*Mr. Paul St. Pierre, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs and a member of the Canadian delegation to the twenty-sixth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly, signed on November 1 the Final Act of the Pledging Conference of the UN Development Program.*



## *Inter-Parliamentary Relations Branch*

THE mailing address is a Post Office box in the West Block of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. The actual premises are four blocks south, at O'Connor and Slater Streets, in a building known chiefly as the headquarters of Information Canada. To a comparatively small circle privileged to know the elusive, esoteric truth, it is also the home of the Inter-Parliamentary Relations Branch (IPRB) — the small body responsible to both Speakers for planning, organizing, staffing and administering the official program of exchanges between Canada's federal Parliament and the parliaments of other nations (and, occasionally, the Canadian provincial legislatures).

Since it came into being seven years ago, under the title of Parliamentary Associations Branch and with a staff of one, the IPRB has seen its quarters moved several times, and steadily away from the geographical centre of Parliamentary authority: from offices directly below the Commons Speaker's Chambers to a West Block loft; then across Wellington Street to the Norlite Building; from there to Metcalfe Street, in the Rideau Club building; then back to the Norlite Building renamed the National Press Building; and finally, in December 1970, to its present location, in a severely modern edifice where distance and fixed thermo-pane windows have combined to shut out forever the comforting chimes of the Peace Tower clock.

No. The Branch is not in disgrace. Its "banishment" from the Hill to larger and brighter downtown offices was simply the result of its own growth and of the increasing pressure on available space from other priority areas, such as Ministers' and Members' accommodation, and expanding sessional services. In fact, many Members and Senators who were at one time only dimly aware of the existence of the Branch now profess genuine appreciation and admiration for the support they receive from the IPRB in fulfilling their commitments as jet-age parliamentarians.

### **Program during 1970-71**

During the fiscal year 1970-71<sup>(1)</sup>, 112 of them, in delegations numbering from one to 24, spent a total of 800 man-days as the guests of their parliamentary colleagues in 16 foreign countries. In the opposite direction, 113 parliamentarians representing 14 countries spent 700 man-days in Ottawa and on tour across Canada as the guests of the Canadian Parliament. Of these 14 countries, only four figured among those visited in that year. This program, covering exchanges with one-fifth of the nations of the world, was carried out by a staff of five officers and five secretarial and clerical employees, on a budget of \$257,000.

This is in sharp contrast with the year 1964-65, when the newly-appointed Co-ordinating Secretary for Parliamentary Associations, assisted by one secretary,

<sup>(1)</sup> A summary of the 1970-71 program is appended to this article.

had \$60,000 to finance 12 delegations to nine countries. Only 61 MPs and Senators participated, spending 350 man-days abroad. There were no incoming visits during that period.

It is perhaps worth noting here that the average daily cost for each delegate, here and abroad, has remained constant at about \$170<sup>(1)</sup> since 1964. Indeed, it can be argued with a good measure of validity that experience and increasingly efficient management have brought real costs down by roughly 20 per cent, or the equivalent of the inflation which took place in the interval.

What does this money buy? Broadly speaking, air and ground transportation, hotel accommodation, meals and official functions, entertainment, briefings and business meetings, with all the required supporting services. Also included in the package are the services of an IPRB staffer, who, in the course of a single visit, may be called upon to act as conference secretary, liaison officer (with embassies, government departments, foreign parliaments and provincial legislatures), program organizer, travel agent, tour guide, impresario, press and PR officer, banker, messenger, busboy and (at plane time) sheepdog. A true bargain.

### Goals Achieved

Well, all this could also quite easily be less than a bargain at half the price. The reason why the inter-parliamentary exchanges program can be considered good value is essentially that the parliamentarians who participate in it feel that it successfully achieves the goals for which it was originally set up. These could be summarized as follows: share legislative and procedural experiences with parliamentarians from other lands; establish bilateral channels of communication for the discussion of specific issues that might usefully be dealt with by parliamentarians at certain stages in their development; gather broad first-hand knowledge on questions of both national and international interest that might come up for discussion in Parliament; and, in a more general sense, further the ideal of parliamentary democracy and help build up a capital of goodwill toward Canada abroad. Parliament's decision to embark on such a program in 1964 at once gave extreme urgency to the necessity of providing a continuing staff organization to implement the program.

Until then, Parliament's international activities were pretty much confined to its membership in four parliamentary associations: the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association<sup>(2)</sup>, the NATO Parliamentary Association<sup>(3)</sup>, the Inter-Parliamentary Union,<sup>(4)</sup> and the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group<sup>(5)</sup>. Staff support for these was provided entirely on a part-time basis by table officers of the House of Commons and of the Senate appointed as "secretaries" by the Executives of the organizations concerned.

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(1) Obtained by dividing total man-days into the annual budget.

(2) Originally the Empire Parliamentary Association. Canada was a founding member in 1911.

(3) A Canadian branch was formed in 1954.

(4) The Canadian Parliament became a member in 1961.

(5) Formed in 1959.

## **Parliamentary Associations Overburdened**

Well before 1964, it was evident that the increasingly heavy demands of the parliamentary timetable were seriously undermining the table officers' capacity to keep up with the day-to-day business of the associations in addition to their regular duties. Compounded by the fact that the associations themselves were expanding their activities, the problem quickly developed to the point where little co-ordinated planning of Canada's participation in the parliamentary associations was possible; selection of delegates and briefings were haphazard, last-minute affairs, and consequently unsatisfactory; and valuable lessons learned through the experience of one association were not available to the others. Between 1962 and 1966, no fewer than six Canadian parliamentary delegations were sent to international conferences without staff support, because the appointed secretaries could not be spared from the business of Parliament.

The solution offered by both the Special Committee on Procedure and Organization of the House of Commons constituted in the Twenty-sixth Parliament and a 1964 Civil Service Commission study on the organization of the House was the appointment of a "Co-ordinating Secretary for Parliamentary Associations". The almost simultaneous acceptance by the Inter-Parliamentary Union of an invitation to hold its 1965 conference in Ottawa, with the already-mentioned decision to exchange special parliamentary visits with other countries each year, forced swift implementation of the recommendation.

Mr. Ian Imrie, the current chief of the IPRB, was thus appointed to the new post in July 1964. His role *vis-à-vis* the associations and the Speaker was initially to co-ordinate the various programs and budgets and to advise the appointed secretaries on administrative and financial matters.

## **Baptism by Fire**

By far the most pressing task at the outset, however, was the organizing and staffing of the fifty-fourth IPU conference, which brought over 700 participants to Ottawa for the ten-day program. In a classic case of baptism by fire, this conference and the three-week long general conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, which also took place in Canada the following year with 250 participants, provided the Branch with a basic pattern for the organizing and programming of future inter-parliamentary exchanges; established its working relations with the various parliamentary services, government departments and other organizations on which it must count as resources; and brought together the key members of its present staff. (The nucleus of staff responsible for both the IPU and CPA conference arrangements consisted of three of the four program officers on staff today. The fourth, who joined the permanent staff in July 1970, served as an information and public relations officer on contract for both conferences. The Branch's protocol and transport specialists were originally seconded by their former employees to serve with the CPA conference secretariat in 1966, and later joined permanently, one in 1967, the other in 1971. Of the present



secretarial and clerical personnel of six, two started in 1964. For the time being, at least, the Branch is still operated by its "charter members", providing it with a most useful continuity of experience.)

### **Conference Problems**

Undertakings of the magnitude of the 1965 and 1966 conferences could not have been carried out without massive outside help. The Co-ordinating Secretary for Parliamentary Associations and his two assistants (who were soon to become permanent officers of the Branch) could not obviously cover by themselves the five major areas of accommodation, hospitality, conference services, transport, and public relations and information. So, in both cases, adequately-staffed secretariats had to be set up by hiring numerous specialists from the outside or obtaining their secondment from various government departments.

*Item:* a public relations consultant was brought in to work out the IPU conference's lavish social program, which included gala performances by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, and a barbecue and cabaret for 1,400 people at the Speaker's summer residence at Kingsmere, Quebec.

Both years, Air Canada provided the services of an agent to co-ordinate international arrivals and departures, and process changes in travel plans requested by delegates. In 1966, the Air Canada agent faced the additional challenge of arranging transportation for 250 participants to all provincial capitals, as the general conferences of the CPA are traditionally accompanied by a tour of the host country. The Department of National Defence also gave the Secretariat major support in this area, not only with the loan of one of its transportation experts but also with the provision, on a recoverable basis, of staff cars, baggage vehicles, baggage-handling personnel, as well as aircraft wherever the commercial carriers were unable to meet the tour-schedule requirements.

*Item:* again in 1965, the protocol officer seconded by the Department of the Secretary of State posted out 20,000 invitations in three weeks for functions held in connection with the IPU conference.

*Item:* both conferences required liaison officers, in the ratio of one for every 20 delegates, to guide the latter through busy programs and a maze of conference services. They were provided by the Public Service Commission and the Department of External Affairs. Through its area officers at headquarters, its telecommunications division and its missions abroad, the Department of External Affairs also gave invaluable help in the nightmarish task of obtaining information on the numbers, names and titles of the delegates, their travel plans, their dietary requirements, if any, and other small but essential details, by the deadlines set by the printers, the caterers, the hotels, the transportation companies, etc. . . for filing of final plans and material.

*Item:* since these conferences operate as parliamentary assemblies, it is the tradition that they be held in the meeting chamber of the host parliament, with all the usual services. Even though this was home ground for the Secre-

tariat, one was faced here with a project which lay outside the normal scope of the sessional staff's duties. Through the Speakers, arrangements were made with the Clerks of both Houses to put their facilities, their reporters and interpreters, their messengers and pages, the Parliamentary restaurant and other supporting services at the disposal of each conference. There is today in the House of Commons a multi-channel sound system which was installed on the occasion of the IPU conference. As in the United Nations, the IPU proceedings are recorded in five languages.

Lest the reader be misled into thinking that the IPRB is perpetually engaged in running convention-size interparliamentary conferences, it should be pointed out that it was an exceptional coincidence for Canada to have acted as host to four of them in the last six years. The other two were the 1971 meetings of the North Atlantic Assembly and of the International Association of French-Speaking Parliamentarians,<sup>(1)</sup> held an incredible two days apart last September. The site of these meetings is rotated among member countries and, even after eliminating those who are not equipped to receive such large gatherings, the recurrence span for any host country should not be less than 15 years.<sup>(2)</sup>

### **Normal Business**

In normal times, the bulk of the business of the IPRB consists in sending Canadian delegations to association meetings held abroad, and in entertaining and dispatching delegations under the growing bilateral exchange program. Yet the requirements for acting as host to a large conference or a small delegation are often similar, and the services and functions described above in relation to the 1965 IPU and 1966 CPA conferences are applicable to most small visits. Only the number of people required to do the work, and the price tag, vary significantly. Frequent exchanges of small delegations are also more effective in strengthening the working relations that have developed between the IPRB and its "traditional resources", such as the Departments of External Affairs, National Defence, and Transport, the House of Commons and Senate organizations, and the provincial legislatures (which share in extending Canadian parliamentary hospitality to visiting delegations taken on tour outside the federal capital). Although significant involvement of these resources on any IPRB project requires a separate understanding between the federal Speakers and the ministers or provincial speakers concerned, well-nurtured informal relations at the working level increase efficiency and speed through better understanding, and by allowing conditional planning to go on while the formal authorizations are being processed.

This is of particular importance to the substantive aspect of the Branch's work. Throughout the early years, much time has been devoted to working out and refining the mechanics of inter-parliamentary exchanges, while involvement on the substantive side often remained passive and limited to passing on require-

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<sup>(1)</sup> The Canadian Parliament was a founding member in 1967.

<sup>(2)</sup> Two notable exceptions: the two permanent bilateral associations, Canada-United States and Canada-France, which the Canadian Parliament hosts on alternate years.

ments for briefings, working papers, etc. . . to the appropriate division in the Department of External Affairs, the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament or, more recently, to the Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade. Pressures are now being felt by the Branch's program officers to make more frequent and better use of this natural triangle, and to assume a greater role of co-ordination and direction in presenting the Members and Senators who participate in inter-parliamentary exchanges with material which is both complete and accurately tailored to the nature and level of the discussions.

### **The Branch and the Associations**

This is partly a result of the complete take-over by the Branch of the staffing responsibility for the various associations. IPRB officers now act as secretaries for the Canadian branches of these associations. The executives of these branches count on the secretaries to draft agenda lists and have the necessary documentation prepared for their regular meetings. When the international executives release the agenda for the annual general meetings of the associations, it is again up to the secretaries to see that the Canadian delegations be provided with papers reflecting their stances on the various issues at hand. The same applies to *ad hoc* bilateral exchanges when these are accompanied by formal meetings. Even when this is not the case, there is always a need for background material on the countries visited or received, and for a reserve list of topics of mutual interest which might be brought up informally — say, during a dinner conversation. On visits abroad, individual MPs and Senators may wish to pursue particular personal interests, and are often likely to request fairly specialized background material for these purposes.

The IPRB officers must obviously rely on the above-mentioned sources for all such material but, as the requests for it are put through them, they must first have a clear understanding of each request, as well as develop a good grasp of its subject matter — then make sure that these requests are carried out as specified. The ultimate success or failure of the program depends largely on this.

Another question which is being given increasing thought is that of a general policy governing the future development of the inter-parliamentary exchanges program, outside the regular activities of the parliamentary associations. So far, the approach has been on an individual-case basis, with the Speakers seeking advice from the IPRB and other parliamentary and government sources as new possibilities appeared on the horizon. As the calendar fills up, this piecemeal, short-term approach appears less and less desirable. The answer are by no means clear. One might look briefly, though, at the United States Congress, where the inter-parliamentary relations program is determined by the Foreign Affairs Committees of both Houses. While the Speakers, as First Parliamentarians, should continue to reign over the Canadian program, involving the Commons External Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in an advisory capacity might benefit the program in two ways: first, by relating it to a broadly-



based expression of Parliament's own view of Canada's role in international affairs; secondly, by exposing, on a regular basis, a substantially larger number of Canadian parliamentarians than at present to the activities of the Inter-Parliamentary Relations Branch.

It is, after all, their "thing".

### Summary of Program 1970-71

Outgoing		
Dates (1970)	Title	Number of Participants
March 25/April 4	Parliamentary delegation to Yugoslavia	5 (Commons only)
March 30/April 5	IPU spring meetings, Monaco	5
April 14 and 15	North Atlantic Assembly, (NAA), Standing Committee Meetings, Washington	1
April 15/May 12	CPA nineteenth parliamentary Course at Westminster	2 (Commons only)
May 24 to 26	Canada-France Inter-Parliamentary Association, fourth meeting, Paris	8 (Commons only)
May 28/June 6	CPA Executive Committee meeting, London and Jersey	1
June 11 to 20	CPA seventh Caribbean regional conference, Grenada	2 (Commons only)
June 16 to 26	Visit of Parliamentary delegation to Japan	3
June 26/July 7	CPA delegation to Malawi	5
June 28/July 19	CPA Parliamentary visit to Britain	2 (Commons only)
June 29/July 4	NAA Committee meetings, Brussels	6
July 8 and 9	NAA special meeting, NATO Information Services	4 (Commons only)
Sept. 11 and 12	NAA, Committee on Education, Cultural Affairs and Information, Brussels	1
Sept. 20/Oct. 10	CPA, sixteenth conference, Australia	7 (Federal) 8 (Provincial)

October 1 to 9	IPU, fifty-eighth conference, The Hague	11
November 5 to 11	NAA, sixteenth conference, The Hague	15
Dec. 28/Jan. 1, 1971	Second Commonwealth Speakers' Conference, New Delhi	2 (Both Speakers)
1971		
Jan. 2 to 8	Post-conference visit, Mr. Speaker Lamoureux, India	1
Jan. 25 and 26	Council of Europe, Consultative Assembly, Strasbourg	3
Feb. 5 to 10	CPA Executive Committee, London	1
Feb. 27	AIPLF, Bureau meeting	1
March 25 and 26	NAA Standing Committee meeting, Washington	1

#### Incoming

Dates (1970)	Title	Number of Participants
April 30/May 2	CPA, Canadian Area Council	10
June 10 to 21	CPA, Multi-Branch from Southeast Asian region	11
July 9 to 15	CPA, visit of President of Australian Senate and Chairman, CPA General Council	1
Aug. 30/Sept. 4	CPA, eleventh Canadian area conference	60 approx.
Sept. 12 to 22	NAA, annual military tour	35
Sept. 25/Oct. 4	CPA delegation from Britain	5
Oct. 11 to 14	Visit from the Ghanaian Parliament	4
1971		
March 15 to 21	Speaker Hyo Sang Rhee, National Assembly of Korea	5
March 16 to 18	Council of Europe, Consultative Assembly	7

# *Canada's Relations with Mexico*

## JOINT MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE

THE first meeting of the Canada-Mexico Ministerial Committee was held in Ottawa on October 21 and 22, 1971. During the visit to Mexico of a ministerial mission headed by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp in November, 1968, the two countries had agreed to form a committee along the lines of those Canada already had established with the United States and Japan.

Mexico was represented at this meeting by the Honourable Emilio O. Rabasa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Carlos Torres Manzo, Minister of Industry and Commerce, Mr. Agustin Olachea Borbon, Chief of the Department of Tourism, Mr. Julio Faesler, Director-General of the Institute of Foreign Trade, and Mr. Rafael Urdaneta, Ambassador of Mexico to Canada. Canada was represented by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Mr. Bruce Howard, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and Mr. S. F. Rae, Canadian Ambassador to Mexico.

The joint communiqué issued at the close of the two-day session declared that the meeting had "marked the beginning of a new phase in relations between the two countries", and that it had "revealed a wide range of common interests and identified new opportunities for co-operation between Mexico and Canada".

### **Policy toward Latin America**

Concerning the range of subjects discussed by the ministers, it was first noted that the Canadian side had outlined the progress made in implementing Canadian policy toward Latin America as announced in the 1970 foreign policy review. This included an outline of the status of Canada's application to be accredited to the Organization of American States as a permanent observer, Canada's intention to contribute as a full member to the Inter-American Development Bank and to the Pan-American Health Organization, and its interest in participating in other inter-American institutions. Canadian ministers underscored the special significance of Canada's relations with Mexico in the process of deepening and strengthening links with Latin America.

The Mexican ministers noted with satisfaction the increasing activity of Canada in inter-American affairs and expressed their support for the Canadian intention of accrediting a permanent observer to the Council of the Organization of American States and of seeking full membership in the Inter-American Development Bank. The prospects for the Third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD III), to be held in Santiago, Chile,



in April 1972, were discussed, and the Mexican side particularly stressed the importance of UNCTAD in advancing the interests of developing countries. In this regard, the Mexican ministers registered their interest in an early implementation of the general preference scheme to which agreement had been reached at UNCTAD II in New Delhi, and their Canadian counterparts reiterated Canada's intention of participating in this plan, which would enlarge the market accessibility of the products of developing countries.

One paragraph of the communiqué outlined discussions concerning the recent United States measures:

The ministers examined the United States economic measures which have serious implications for both Canada and Mexico. While recognizing the importance to world trade of a strong and dynamic United States economy, they expressed the hope that the period of uncertainty created by the United States measures would be of short duration. The ministers noted, in particular, that the U.S. import surtax will adversely affect a substantial proportion of the exports of both countries, which are close neighbours of the United States, and that it could, if continued, impede further liberalization of world trade, from which all countries stand to benefit. They stressed the need for the earliest possible removal of the surtax.

### **Trade Increases**

The ministers noted recent substantial increases in trade between the two countries. Recognizing the potential for future expansion, they identified a range of specific opportunities that should be pursued, including the possibility of joint ventures between Mexican and Canadian firms, and agreed that a joint meeting of government and business leaders should be held in the near future to carry this work forward. Considerable attention was also paid to specific ways of fostering the growth of commercial relations. In this connection, it was decided to establish a working group of officials to discuss such particular trade issues as harmonization of statistics, grading standards and transport facilities. The Mexicans expressed an interest in developing sales to Canada of such products as fruits and vegetables, and identified sectors in which Canadian investment would be welcomed in Mexico. The Canadian ministers expressed their country's interest in a greater participation in Mexico's industrial growth, particularly in those sectors in which Canada has special expertise and capabilities.

In the realm of people-to-people exchanges, the following programs were discussed and approved: (1) a continuing program involving the exchange of young technicians; (2) the extension to Mexico of the program "Contact Canada"; (3) the holding of cultural weeks in the two countries beginning in 1972, i.e. "Canada" weeks in Mexican cities and "Mexico" weeks in Canada; and (4) the opening in December of this year of a Canadian library centre in Mexico City for the purpose of increasing knowledge in Mexico of Canadian economic, social, cultural, scientific, educational and political affairs.

### **Tourist and Consular Matters**

The meetings also featured an exchange of views between tourist promotion agencies of the two countries, both major travel destinations in the world. The two

sides were interested in increasing the flow of visitors in both directions, and agreed to give substantial encouragement to the campaign endorsed by the International Union of Official Travel Organizations and the Organization of American States to make 1972 "tourism year for the Americas".

In the consular area, the ministers agreed that "every possible assistance should be given to consular officials of either country to enable them to perform their functions and, in particular, to assist their nationals". Details of specific steps in this direction were left to future meetings of Canadian and Mexican officials.

The ministers representing the two countries expressed their agreement on the value of the Ministerial Committee Meeting, which provided a "useful forum for the exchange of views on matters of mutual interest" and a "stimulus to increase understanding and friendship". The Canadian ministers gratefully accepted the invitation of their Mexican colleagues to hold the next meeting in Mexico City on a date to be determined through consultation. Finally, the Canadian ministers, on behalf of the Prime Minister, renewed an invitation to President Luis Echeverria Alvarez of Mexico to visit Canada.

# *Canada and Latin America*

*The following address on Canadian policy in Latin America was given by an officer of the Department of External Affairs at a conference that took place at Lac Beauport, Quebec, in September under the auspices of the Quebec Centre for International Relations:*

A country's foreign policy does not, as you know, develop at random. It obeys imperatives which include objectives and interests of a national order, embracing every opportunity for their advancement. We shall see that this has been true of relations between Canada and the countries of Latin America, which on the whole can be roughly divided into two distinct periods quite disparate in length.

## **First Period: Creating Bonds of Friendship and Mutual Interest**

A distinguishing characteristic of our pre-1968 relations with Latin America is the priority given to the expansion of Canadian trade throughout the region. Although our first official posts, established by the Department of Trade and Commerce, date from 1909 in Havana, 1911 in Buenos Aires and 1922 in Mexico, our diplomatic missions were established much later, often for the reason that it proved impossible to conclude trade agreements where such relations were lacking. During the Forties, therefore, there was an exchange of diplomatic representatives with Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, and ten other missions were established towards the end of the same decade or during the next. Thus, by 1965, Canada had set up 14 diplomatic missions headed by representatives in residence in as many countries, several of whom were also accredited concurrently to the six other governments in the area.

Originally, the role of our diplomatic missions consisted largely in enhancing Canada's presence for trade purposes and helping to solve problems arising in that field, or in the sector of consular services. As time passed, this limited activity was gradually extended to other areas, especially information and cultural affairs, so that Canada, which had initially appeared as a reliable trader and an unpretentious, friendly neighbour, gradually took on a new image for many Latin Americans. In addition, the growing co-operation between Canada and the Latin American countries in the sphere of international institutions, especially the United Nations, and Canada's participation in certain operations of the Inter-American Development Bank also contributed to widening the scope of our exchanges, both bilateral and multilateral.

For all practical purposes, therefore, the development of significant relations between Canada and the Latin American countries dates from the beginning of the Second World War. In the space of a quarter of a century, Canada established diplomatic relations with every country in that area and developed favourable



trade exchanges with them, supplemented in some cases by substantial investments of private capital. In addition, it was led to undertake certain activities likely to foster growing co-operation in the field of information, cultural relations and scientific and technical exchanges; it began to participate in the work of inter-American institutions and to draw closer to these countries within other international agencies.

The foregoing is, of course, a capsule summary of our dealings with the countries of Latin America until early 1968, a period during which our diplomatic relations were uniformly good. Having said this, it is important to note that the two decades that followed 1945 were marked by the overthrow of governments and other important changes in the political, economic and social balance throughout the world. While Canada's relations with the United States remained fairly constant, other factors had a progressively greater influence on the orientation of Canada's foreign policy, largely concerned during this period with ensuring the success of multilateral arrangements such as those set up within the UN and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. However, other factors, such as the changes that took place within the Commonwealth, formerly one of the cornerstones of Canadian foreign policy, and the growing trend towards the creation of regional blocs during the Sixties, prompted Canada to find new elements of balance better suited to the objectives and concerns of its general policy. It is in this context that the expansion of its diverse relations with the countries of Latin America came to be envisaged.

### **Second Period: Strengthening and Extending these Bonds**

A new phase in our relations with Latin America was opened during the 1968 tour of a Canadian ministerial mission that visited the region's leading countries. The visit was followed by studies carried out by a special task force, and by the publication in 1970 of a paper setting out new policy guide-lines for this region. The object of this sector paper, which formed part of the general review of Canadian foreign policy, was principally to adumbrate a series of measures to be adopted, or considered, in the light of growing experience.

What is this Latin America with which Canada now intends to establish a closer and deeper relationship than in the past? It would be tedious to recapitulate here the considerations that motivated this new attitude on the part of Canada. In any case, they have already been described in the *Latin America* section of the foreign policy review published last year. The following remarks are intended rather to round out the information provided in that document by listing the steps that have been, or are about to be, taken so as to give this new policy program a concrete, sustained and satisfactory expression.

We are all aware that "Latin America" is a convenient expression for designating some 20 countries in this hemisphere, linked for the most part by a more or less close community of language, religion and historical tradition. We also know that in differing degrees these countries are all faced with economic

and social development problems, and that in each case these problems adopt such a variety of forms that what we are really dealing with is a highly differentiated group of countries. This variety of circumstances and resources seems, however, to offer a fertile field for achieving the objectives of Canadian policy.

Poverty is a scourge, and there are areas of the world where its burden is so complex and crushing that all one can do is to try to alleviate the seemingly endless misery it generates. But this is not the case in Latin America, whose countries are endowed with human and material resources of a higher order. Their spirit of independence and sense of identity, heightened by educational progress and the development of their middle classes, increasingly find expression in the desire to improve their lot, combined with a growing feeling of nationalism. The entire area thus opens to Canadian initiative opportunities for fruitful co-operation and profitable exchanges that are likely to assist the development of a more meaningful policy.

What has the Canadian Government done to date to attain this goal? Since last year, a series of practical steps has been taken in order to realize the intentions set forth in the policy papers. While continuing to pursue the activities normally connected with our Latin American relations, the Government has initiated, through the Canadian International Development Agency, a special program of technical assistance in four areas of concentration: Brazil, Peru, Colombia and Central America. Arrangements in respect to selective programs applying to other countries, such as Chile, have also been strengthened. This is a good beginning, and the growth and effectiveness potential of these programs should not be overlooked. Furthermore, the Government, through the activities of the Export Development Corporation, is making every effort to encourage commercial, industrial and financial enterprise by the private sector and is co-operating actively, for similar ends, with the Canadian Association for Latin America. We might also note, in the special projects field, the activation of the Canada-Mexico Joint Committee, set up in 1968, which is to meet in Ottawa in October to examine a list of bilateral problems and other questions of concern to our two countries. Also noteworthy is the interest shown, and the encouragement given, by the Government with respect to the Andean Pact organization, a regional market for the West Coast countries of South America, whose representatives visited Canada twice this year. These various undertakings are being strengthened by new programs intended to improve our information services and cultural exchanges throughout the region.

In the field of multilateral co-operation, Canada has notified the Organization of American States of its intention to seek the status of permanent observer in that body. This application was approved in principle at the last General Assembly of the OAS, and the Directing Council is shortly to establish the terms and conditions under which this special status may be granted. In practice, this means that we shall shortly have a diplomatic mission accredited to the OAS. Another very important step is the Government's desire to seek full membership in the Inter-American Development Bank, and negotiations to that effect are continuing.

In addition, Canada, which was already a member of six inter-American agencies, among which were the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History and the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain, has signified its intention of joining four new institutions, including the Pan-American Health Organization, the Institute of Agricultural Sciences and the Indian Institute. Our admission to the PAHO took place recently, and Canadian membership in the other organizations will follow in due course. In terms of co-operation and aid, contacts and exchanges of all sorts, these various measures add a new dimension to the structure of Canada's foreign policy, the development of which will change our relations with western hemisphere countries substantially.

### **Conclusion**

Under the provisions of its new charter, the OAS seems to be placing greater emphasis on objectives of an economic, social and cultural order, inclining to an organizational framework within which Canada could make a more effective contribution to the common welfare. The broadening scope of our multilateral co-operation also affords us the opportunity of significantly improving our relations with individual countries, enhancing the scope and character of our dealings with them.

These, in sum, are the long-term initiatives that have been undertaken in the past year, which will provide a practical basis for our new policy in Latin America. The coming years will, of course, offer many opportunities for consultation and co-operation with the Latin American countries for the attainment of common goals. Safeguarding our sovereignty and independence, promoting economic development, advancing social justice and improving the quality of life — all these are objectives of Canada's national policy. They are also, by the same token, the objectives which Canadians propose to pursue in developing fruitful relations with their neighbours in Latin America.



## *Canadian Recognition of the Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile, 1939-1940*

**D**URING the Second World War, the Canadian Government had to cope with many diplomatic problems unprecedented in the history of Canadian external relations. One such was the treatment to be accorded to governments-in-exile. The question of Canada's relations with the exiled Government of Czechoslovakia emerged right at the beginning of the war and proved to be a knotty problem to solve. It was one instance where British action, while a guide for Canadian officials, was not immediately copied by the Canadian Government.

Canada never recognized the German conquest of Czechoslovakia and when war broke out the Czechoslovak Consul General in Canada, Dr. Pavlásek, was permitted to remain in Montreal, where his office was established, retaining fully his former consular rights and privileges. The privileges enjoyed by Dr. Pavlásek were later interpreted by officials of the Department of External Affairs as "practical recognition" of the exiled Government of the Czechoslovak Republic.<sup>(1)</sup> This practical recognition received moral reinforcement in September 1939, when Prime Minister Mackenzie King made public an exchange of messages with the former President of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Edward Benes. King's message stated in part:

. . . Our people are one in their admiration of the Czechs and Slovaks who have already been called upon to sacrifice so much in resisting the forces of terror and violence which threaten present day civilization.

We are proud to share with them in the titanic struggle now being waged for the preservation of human freedom.

### **Czechoslovak National Committee**

On November 20, 1939, the Czechoslovak Consul General informed the Canadian Government that a Czechoslovak National Committee had been established in France, the object of which was twofold: to lead the fight to recapture the territory conquered by Germany and to carry out the Franco-Czechoslovak agreement of October 2, 1939, establishing a Czechoslovak national army in France, recognized as the legal continuation of the army of the Czechoslovak Republic. Dr. Pavlásek's letter stated that France had recognized the Czechoslovak National Committee and that negotiations with Britain were proceeding favourably. Mr. Vincent Massey, Canadian High Commissioner in London, telegraphed the Canadian Government on December 29, 1939, that the Czechoslovak National Committee, headed by Dr. Benes, had been recognized officially by the British Government nine days earlier. Mr. Massey reported that Benes was anxious for recognition by the Dominion governments, either by an exchange

<sup>(1)</sup> All references and quotations in this article have been taken from the External Affairs files numbered 1257/39, 959-39, 1016-39 and 816-A-39.

of letters as the British Government had done or "by some less formal procedure".

Early in 1940, Dr. Benes made a formal approach to the Canadian Government through the Canadian High Commission in London. He met Mr. L. B. Pearson, then a senior member of Vincent Massey's staff, and gave him a letter, addressed to the High Commissioner, in which he announced the formation of the Czechoslovak National Committee. The letter pointed out that the National Committee was qualified to represent the Czechoslovak peoples and, in particular, "to make such arrangements as may be necessary in the territories under the jurisdiction of the Government of Canada in connection with the reconstitution of the Czechoslovak army in France".

Even before the Canadian Government had received this request for recognition, Dr. Pavlásek had approached the Department of External Affairs to ascertain whether the Government would be willing to give pre-military training to Czechoslovaks living in Canada who wished to go to France to join the Czechoslovak army. This request, with others from representatives of governments-in-exile, prompted the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to take the initiative in setting up an interdepartmental committee to examine the whole question of recruiting aliens living in Canada for overseas service.

The revised report of this committee was ready by November 10, 1939, and formed the basis of later Government policy on the recruitment of aliens in Canada. The case of Czechoslovakia had presented special difficulties in contrast to requests for Poland and France, because Canada had not yet recognized the Czechoslovak National Committee and was not in *de facto* alliance with the Czechoslovak Government-in-exile as it was with the Government of Poland and France. Nevertheless, the Committee recommended that the Czechoslovak authorities, as well as the French and Polish, should be permitted to recruit their own nationals in Canada, subject to certain conditions. No action was taken on this report as far as the Czechoslovaks were concerned until after Canada recognized the National Committee nearly a year later.

### **Legal Status of Czech Nationals**

This was by no means the only problem which the Czechoslovak representative in Canada hoped to overcome through recognition of the Czechoslovak National Committee. At the beginning of the war, Czechoslovaks living in Canada were classed as enemy aliens under the Defence of Canada Regulations, in contrast to those in Britain, where Czechoslovak nationals received special exemption from the enemy-alien provisions of the British war regulations. The Czechoslovak Consul General immediately protested against what he regarded as discriminatory and unjust treatment. Further protests by the Consul General and publicity about the plight of the Czechoslovaks brought about a slight improvement late in 1939. Certificates of exemption were authorized for Czechoslovak nationals "of undoubted loyalty". Those who did not possess these certificates, of course, continued to be classed as enemy aliens.

The question of the legal status of Czechoslovak nationals was one of the issues raised in conversations between a delegation of the Czechoslovak National Committee and officials of the Departments of External Affairs and of National Defence, which were held in Ottawa early in January 1940. Everything seemed to hinge on Canada's recognition of the National Committee, and the Czechoslovak representatives could only express their hope that recognition, when it came, would bring a change of status for Czechoslovak citizens living in Canada.

In spite of the introduction of certificates of exemption in October 1939, by the summer of 1940 the position of Czechoslovak nationals in Canada appeared to have worsened, because of the way the Defence of Canada Regulations were being interpreted in practice. Dr. Pavlásek, the Consul General, maintained, in conversation with an officer of the Department of External Affairs in August 1940, that Czechoslovaks had not only to prove themselves to be opposed to Hitler but also to show they were "good Canadians" before being released from police supervision. These releases were apparently decided by local politicians "and in some cases by religious leaders". Dr. Pavlásek was reported as complaining: that the police will pay no attention to his guarantee but that if a man is given a good name by some local political leader or by a priest of the Roman Catholic church he is very likely to be released from further scrutiny. He stated that the situation is particularly bad in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec and that it works greatly to the detriment of his fellow nationals who are members of the Protestant faith.

The Under-Secretary, commenting on Dr. Pavlásek's representations about the treatment of Czechoslovaks under the Defence of Canada Regulations, wrote:

"There is probably something in his complaint. I am not sure how it can be remedied other than by impressing on the Police his reliability". Czechoslovak feelings were formalized in a resolution passed by the Czechoslovak National Alliance at their second annual convention held in Toronto in August 1940. This resolution asked the Canadian Government:

that the Czechoslovaks in Canada be considered as members of an Allied nation and that before all Canadian authorities they be accorded the status of members of an Allied nation in the same manner as it is accorded to the Poles, Belgians and Dutch.

Until Canada formally recognized the Czechoslovak National Committee, little could be done to overcome the difficulties of Czechs and Slovaks living in Canada. Nor could much practical help be given to the Czechoslovak recruiting drive. Canada was well behind Britain, because the British Government, by January 1940, had recognized the National Committee and was working with it to recruit Czechoslovaks living in Britain for the Czechoslovak army. It was not long before Canada found itself lagging behind two more of its Commonwealth allies. Both New Zealand and South Africa, following Britain's lead, recognized the Czechoslovak National Committee in February 1940.

### **Toward Recognition**

The spring and summer of 1940 saw a discreet Czechoslovak campaign to persuade Canada to recognize the National Committee. After two letters had been



received from the Consul General enquiring whether Canada was about to recognize the National Committee, the following telegram arrived from the Canadian High Commissioner in London on May 24, 1940:

. . . Benes has asked me to personally bring to your attention urgency of consideration being given recognition of Czechoslovak National Committee by Canadian Government as progress of recruiting Czechoslovaks in Canada for Czechoslovak force in France is impossible until National Committee has been recognized. I promised Benes I would cable you about this.

The reply, drafted by Norman Robertson, was as follows:

. . . Importance of solution of question referred to has been kept constantly before the Government by Pavlásek, Czechoslovak Consul General here, and it is regretted that pressure of other business has thus far prevented authorities from giving adequate consideration to it. It is hoped that the position can be cleared up very shortly.

Benes also received support from the British Government in his efforts to obtain Canadian recognition for his National Committee. Success was not immediate, however. When Australia recognized the Czechoslovak National Committee in May 1940, Canada remained the only Dominion in the Commonwealth military alliance against Germany that had not given formal recognition to the National Committee. The Department of External Affairs was sensitive to Canada's isolated position on Czechoslovakia. On June 1, 1940, the Under-Secretary wrote to the Czechoslovak Consul General inviting him to Ottawa for informal talks on the implications of Canadian recognition. Dr. Pavlásek was given grounds for optimism in this statement included in the letter:

. . . While, I think, the Government is, in principle, inclined to view the question of recognition favourably we are in some doubt as to just what practical consequences would flow from recognition in Canada . . . .

A memorandum, written the previous day for Dr. Skelton, on which the above letter was based, had been more explicit about the Canadian position:

Since our allies — France, Great Britain, Australia, the Union of South Africa (and doubtless Poland, though on this point no information appears to be available here) — have recognized the Czechoslovak National Committee, it would seem desirable in principle and as a gesture of solidarity to accord recognition to the Committee. While it is known that there is a good deal of internal bickering in the Committee, it is carrying on its work fairly effectively and should be of considerable use to the Allied cause in mobilizing Czech resources, human and material, in allied and neutral countries and in keeping alive in Czechoslovakia itself the spirit of resistance to German aggression. For many months past the Committee, through Dr. Benes, has been pressing for recognition and it would seem desirable to dispose of the question without further delay . . . .

The principal concerns of the Department of External Affairs were the terms and method of granting recognition. Canadian officials were understandably reluctant to help Czechoslovak recruiting to the same extent as the French, by threatening unwilling recruits with detention in a concentration camp. They wanted an agreement on just what sort of help was expected before recognizing the National Committee. Another concern of the Canadian Government was the existence of communities of Czechs and Slovaks in the United States, where there were large numbers of potential recruits for the Czechoslovak army. If the Canadian Government gave the National Committee permission to recruit in Canada, would the Committee confine its activities to Canada or would it be

tempted to cross the border? Canadian officials did not want to risk any incidents that might disturb the delicate balance of Canada's relations with the United States.

### **Pavlásek Answers Objections**

Some of these points were cleared up when Dr. Pavlásek visited Ottawa early in June. The Czechoslovak Consul General made it clear that the Canadian Government would not be expected to bring pressure on Czechs and Slovaks to enlist in their national army. He hoped, however, that the Canadian Government would provide administrative assistance for the Czechoslovak recruiting campaign, such as providing free medical examination of prospective recruits and temporary accommodation in Canadian ports for Czechoslovak soldiers prior to embarkation. Canadian officials received assurances on two other sensitive points. The Canadian Government would not be expected to give financial help to the Czechoslovak army or to meet any direct expenses connected with its organization in Canada. Dr. Pavlásek affirmed that no recruitment of Czechoslovak nationals in the United States would take place without the authorization of the United States Government.

Before any further conversations could take place, the Canadian Government received the news that Britain had recognized a newly-constituted provisional Czechoslovak Government, headed by Dr. Benes. This Provisional Government had been established by the National Committee, and recognition by Britain was designed to give it legitimacy, as well as to give encouragement to the Czechoslovak army. The British were also happy to see signs of greater unity between Czechs and Slovaks, shown by the appointment of Milan Hodža, the leading Slovak politician and former Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, to the post of first vice-president of the Provisional Government. Publicly, the only notice in Canada of this new development was a message Prime Minister King sent to the convention of the Czechoslovak National Alliance on July 29, saying, in part:

. . . I am sure that Canadians have learned with great satisfaction of the re-constitution of the legal government of the Czechoslovak Republic under Dr. Edward Benes and his national committee in England.

British recognition and Mackenzie King's statement supplied further ammunition for the Czechoslovak Consul General to use in his campaign of persuasion. He came to Ottawa in the middle of August and met with Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, then an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. Dr. Pavlásek pointed out that his own position as the representative of Czechs and Slovaks living in Canada was being undermined by his inability to obtain solutions to any of the Czechoslovak problems. When this was brought to the attention of the Under-Secretary, Dr. Skelton was responsive to the Consul General's plea for recognition, although he remained cautious. On the subject of recognition he wrote on August 14:

I think we should be advised as to the present constitution of the Committee, which I believe has been modified lately. We ought to know exactly who it is we are supposed to be recognizing. There were intimations in some communications from London as to divisions of

opinion as to representation of the Czechoslovak Republic. I should like to know what the attitude of Masaryk and Osusky is. Subject to such information, I think we should proceed to recognition without further delay.

Dr. Skelton received the assurances he wanted about Masaryk and Osusky, since both were members of the new Government, the former being, in fact, the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government. Yet two more months went by before Canada actually recognized the Provisional Government.

The High Commissioner in London informed the Canadian Government in September 1940 of a Czechoslovak proposal to send a military mission to Canada. Two days after this information had been telegraphed to Ottawa, the High Commissioner's Office sent to Ottawa the Czechoslovak Provisional Government's formal request for recognition. The Cabinet considered the Czechoslovak request to despatch a military mission, and felt that it should be turned down. Foreign missions conducting propaganda activities were unwelcome, and the Canadian Government wanted to encourage enlistment in the Canadian armed forces. The Cabinet was prepared to allow the recruiting of Czechoslovak nationals under the conditions applied to the Norwegian and Polish armies. In spite of the Cabinet recommendation, Dr. Skelton apparently decided not to reply at all to the request because Canada had not yet recognized the Provisional Government. Instead, prompted by the Czechoslovak desire to recruit and two more letters from the Czechoslovak Consul General, the Canadian Government at last decided to grant recognition.

### **Recognition at Last**

Recognition took the form of a note, addressed to the Consul General dated October 12, 1940, and signed by Mackenzie King as Secretary of State for External Affairs. The Under-Secretary presented this to Dr. Pavlásek on October 23, 1940. The note stated simply:

I have the honour to inform you that His Majesty's Government in Canada are happy to recognize and enter into relations with the Provincial Czechoslovak Government established in the United Kingdom under the distinguished presidency of Dr. Edward Benes. The Canadian Government will be glad to discuss with you, as the representative in Canada of the Provisional Government, all questions arising out of this recognition which may require settlement.

Formal recognition of the Provisional Government paved the way for help to be given to the Czechoslovak recruiting campaign in Canada. The Under-Secretary wrote to Dr. Pavlásek on November 26, 1940, setting out the conditions under which representatives of the Czechoslovak Provisional Government could recruit soldiers for their army. The conditions imposed, based on the policy developed a year before, were designed to keep recruiting for foreign armies under as close a supervision as possible, while at the same time ensuring that neither Canada's war effort nor its relations with the United States would be adversely affected.

Canadian nationals and British subjects were prohibited from enlisting in the Czechoslovak force and no person of any nationality could be recruited



if he was working in any job deemed essential to the Canadian war effort. The Canadian Government refused to take any responsibility, financial or other, in any aspect of the recruiting or training of the force, and disavowed any obligation to the men who were recruited. Permissible methods of recruitment were underlined in a separate note sent the same day. Dr. Skelton stated:

. . . the Canadian Government has made it clear that while it will permit and facilitate the enlistment of Allied nationals in such forces, it is not prepared to take any part in compelling or, indeed, to permit the use of compulsion in connection with such recruiting activities.

It took longer to remedy the injustices Czechoslovak nationals had suffered under the Defence of Canada Regulations, but recognition of the Provisional Government made this easier. An Order-in-Council passed in April 1941 amended the Regulations to exclude Czechoslovak nationals from the enemy alien provisions.

Two further steps occurred in the development of Canada's diplomatic relations with the Czechoslovak Government-in-exile during the war. Responding again to Czechoslovak wishes, the Canadian Government announced the opening of a Czechoslovak Legation in Ottawa in July 1942 and the appointment of the former Czechoslovak Consul General, Dr. Pavlásek, as Minister Plenipotentiary. The Canadian Government later that same year appointed the then Brigadier-General Vanier Minister to the exiled Governments of Czechoslovakia, Greece, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, Belgium and the Netherlands, all located in London.

## *Canada Joins Pan-American Health Organization*

CANADA was formally admitted by acclamation to the counsels of inter-American health authorities on September 27, 1971, at the outset of the twentieth meeting in Washington of the Directing Council of the Pan-American Health Organization. PAHO is a regional branch of the World Health Organization, and both institutions carry out a single program of health in the Americas.

The Canadian membership item was presented by Dr. Abraham Horwitz, director of PAHO's secretariat, the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, who told the delegates:

"All the peoples of the continent will benefit from Canada's membership. This conviction is strengthened by the outstanding contributions to science and



*Canada's Minister of National Health and Welfare, the Honourable John Munro, meets a group of Latin American representatives at the twentieth meeting of the Directing Council of the Pan-American Health Organization in Washington. Left to right: Dr. Orlich, Minister of Public Health, Costa Rica; Dr. Salazar Buchelli, Minister of Public Health, Colombia; Dr. Concha, Minister of Public Health, Chile; Mr. Munro; Dr. Batista, Minister of Public Health, Brazil; Dr. Wells, Chief Medical Officer, Barbados; Dr. D'Aiutolo, Minister of Public Health, Argentina.*

technology which Canada has made by the quality of its health services — to which morbidity and mortality statistics, welfare and development indices, bear witness — and by the renown of its educational institutions.”

The Canadian Minister of National Health and Welfare, the Honourable John Munro, then addressed the meeting. He said: “Canada is moving from a posture of outside co-operation to active membership in this organization, and we hope we can contribute, for we know we will learn.” Underscoring Canada’s concern for programs of environmental health in his address to delegates, Mr. Munro added: “. . . Today, we are almost in a race with ourselves. Can we deliver water as fast as we destroy its source of supply through pollution? If I might offer an observation this early into our country’s membership, certainly the protection of our environment — a key problem now in North America, and one approaching the developing nations of Latin America at a very rapid pace — will be a crucial issue to which PAHO must turn ever more attention in the future.”

Formal application for Canada’s membership had been made on May 21 by Canada’s Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp.



## *Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting*

THE finance ministers of the Commonwealth met during 1971 at Nassau in the Bahamas on September 23 and 24. The meeting was attended by 32 delegations; their host was the Honourable L. O. Pindling, Prime Minister of the Bahamas. The Right Honourable Anthony Barber, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, presided.

The Canadian delegation was headed by the Honourable A. Gillespie, Minister of State for Science and Technology, and included: from the Department of External Affairs, Mr. V. C. Moore, Canadian High Commissioner to Jamaica and Commissioner to the Bahamas, and Mr. R. A. Bull, Director, Commercial Policy Division; from the Department of Finance, Mr. S. J. Handfield-Jones, Director of the International Finance Division, and Mr. D. A. Roberts; from the Bank of Canada, Mr. B. J. Drabble, Adviser; and from the Canadian International Development Agency, Mr. G. P. Kidd, Vice-President (Special Programs).

These meetings of the finance ministers of the Commonwealth are an important element in the consultative machinery that continues to form a special link between Commonwealth countries, and provide an opportunity for an exchange of views on matters related to the annual meetings and on other matters of interest to Commonwealth member countries. They have customarily been held in a conveniently-located Commonwealth capital during the week preceding the joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD or World Bank). In 1966 Canada was the venue for the meeting.

This year the ministers recognized that they were holding their annual meeting at a particularly appropriate moment in view of the crisis in the international forums. They discussed the world economic situation and questions of trade and aid of particular interest to Commonwealth countries. The question of Britain's entry into the Common Market and, more particularly, recent international monetary developments received considerable attention at this year's meeting.

### **Concern Over U.S. Surcharge**

The delegates viewed with serious concern the present international monetary instability, accentuated by the suspension of dollar convertibility. They were equally concerned about the surcharge on imports and the cut in development aid announced by President Nixon on August 15. They recognized that the United States faced serious problems, but felt strongly that equilibrium should be sought through an expansion rather than a contraction of international trade. They stressed that it was particularly unfortunate that measures had been taken that imposed heavy burdens on countries that had no part in causing the present difficulties and, for the most part, were least able to bear them.

Mr. Gillespie took the position that Canada was concerned to see the new monetary system in play as quickly as possible, while recognizing that a complete overhaul of the system would take time. He stressed the importance of the role of the IMF in future discussions. He also stressed the urgency of the removal of the surcharge and of currency realignment. He welcomed the domestic U.S. measures designed to stimulate economic growth and to try to deal effectively with inflation, but expressed concern at the protectionist elements in the new economic policy viewed as a whole.

During the discussion of monetary issues, a number of ministers from under-developed countries drew attention to the need to seek restoration of the 10 percent cut in U.S. foreign assistance.

On the subject of the World Bank and its affiliates, the ministers noted the important role the Bank Group had played in the whole area of development finance, and the new initiatives it had recently taken. They were, however, concerned at the delay on the part of some major contributors to the International Development Association (IDA) in meeting their commitments to the third "replenishment" and expressed their appreciation of the lead taken by Canada and Britain in making advance contributions to enable the IDA to continue lending on an interim basis.

Several delegates also felt that the structure and lending policies of the Bank Group were insufficiently responsive to the economic, social and political needs and objectives of individual borrowers. It was felt that the Group might usefully review a number of their policies—e.g., continuing emphasis on project lending, marked preference for large projects, insistence on international bidding for civil works and supplies that could be procured locally, the terms of Bank lending and the criteria and eligibility for IDA credits.

They hoped that such a review would, among other things, result in a speeding up of loans and disbursements, as well as in making loans available to certain poorer countries that did not yet qualify. The hope was widely expressed that the Bank would resume its efforts to work out a scheme for supplementary financial measures.

Mr. Gillespie drew attention to the need for the Bank to accept greater responsibility in its lending practices to ensure that the total external borrowing of recipient countries did not contribute to indebtedness problems of the future.

On the subject of British entry into the European Economic Community (EEC), and in view of some anxieties expressed about the subsequent role of the Commonwealth, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that his country saw its entry into the EEC not as ending the Commonwealth association but as heralding a new chapter of Commonwealth relations and co-operation.

The finance ministers expressed their appreciation for the hospitality they enjoyed and the excellent arrangements made by the Government of the Bahamas for the first Commonwealth ministerial meeting to be held in those islands. They agreed to meet next in London in 1972.

## *Canada-India Nuclear Safeguards Pact*

On September 30, 1971, Canada, India and the International Atomic Energy Agency signed a Trilateral Safeguards Agreement in Vienna which provides for application of IAEA safeguards on the two nuclear power reactors currently being built by India at the Rajasthan Atomic Power Station with assistance from Canada, and on the Douglas Point Nuclear Generating Station at Lake Huron, Ontario, constructed by Atomic Energy of Canada Limited. With the coming into force of this agreement, bilateral safeguards arrangements between Canada and India will now be suspended in favour of IAEA inspection on both stations. The conclusion of the Trilateral Agreement reflects the long-standing policy of the Canadian Government of transferring bilateral safeguards agreements to the IAEA in support of an international safeguards system.



*Shown signing the Agreement are (seated, left to right): His Excellency V. C. Trivedi, Permanent Representative of India to the IAEA; Mr. S. Eklund, Director-General of the IAEA; and Mr. N. F. Berlis, Permanent Representative of Canada to the IAEA and Ambassador to Austria.*



## *Education Ministers of French-Speaking African Countries Confer*

CANADA took part again this year in the sessions of the Conference of Education Ministers of the French-speaking Countries of Africa and Madagascar, of which it has been a member for several years. Last January a delegation headed by the Quebec Minister of Education, Mr. Guy Saint-Pierre, travelled to Bangui in the Central African Republic to take part in the African phase of the Conference. The meetings are held in Africa at the beginning of the year and are continued in Paris in the spring. At the January session, the Canadian representatives took part in the work of the various committees concerned with (1) questions arising from the introduction of technology as a general subject of instruction at the primary and secondary levels and (2) the problems of the teaching of technical subjects and of vocational training.

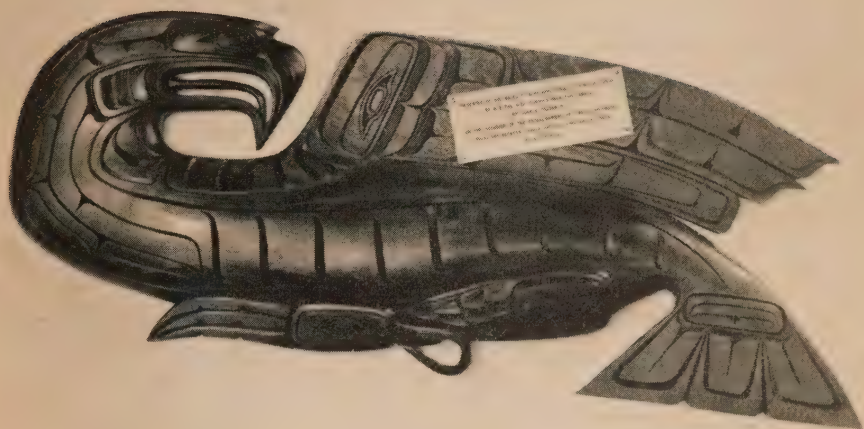
The second session of the conference, held last May in Paris, was also attended by a Canadian delegation, again led by Mr. Saint-Pierre. This session, too, was devoted to a study of the problems attending the introduction of technology in primary and secondary instruction in Africa and Madagascar. The session also examined the interrelation between education and the economy.

By participating in these conferences, Canada calls attention to the importance it attaches to the exchange programs that are a by-product of the gatherings. Centred chiefly on French-speaking Africa, the meetings of education ministers enable Canada, besides making a practical contribution to the work as such, to establish valuable contacts for the implementation of Canadian technical co-operation programs in the community of *francophone* African countries. At present, some 500 French-speaking teachers, mainly from Quebec, are working in various African countries under programs sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency. These meetings provide a basis for a better understanding of the needs and aspirations of the countries concerned.

The Canadian delegations usually include representatives from Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and New Brunswick, as well as advisers from the Federal Government.

As was decided at the Bangui conference in January 1971, after the Tananarive meeting early in 1972 the African sessions will be held every two years, while those held in Paris will continue to take place annually.

## CANADA PRESENTS GIFT TO TONGA



Diplomatic relations between Canada and the Kingdom of Tonga were established on October 22, 1971, when Mr. John A. Dougan, the Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand, accompanied by Mrs. Dougan, presented his credentials to His Majesty Taufa'ahau Tupou IV in the Royal Palace at Nuku'alofa, the capital of Tonga.

To mark the occasion, Mr. Dougan presented, on behalf of the Government of Canada, a wood-carving made by the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia. The carving, which is shown in the above photograph, represents the Thunderbird, a totemic crest symbolic of supernatural power.

## *Canadian Members of Parliament Attend UN General Assembly*

As in previous years, the Canadian delegation to the twenty-sixth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly comprised members of both Houses of Parliament.

Some were appointed to participate in the work of the delegation for the duration of the session, as delegates of Canada to one of the six main committees of the General Assembly. Such were Mr. Paul St-Pierre, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canadian delegate to the First Committee (political and international security questions); the Honourable Renaude Lapointe, Senator, delegate to the Third Committee (social, humanitarian and cultural questions); Mr. David Groos, M.P., delegate to the Special Political Committee; and Mr. Raynald Guay, M.P., delegate to the Fourth Committee (trusteeship or non-self-governing territories).

Some 30 other Members of Parliament were invited to join the delegation as observers for shorter periods. Their one-week stay in New York allowed them to become acquainted with world organization and to attend the meetings of the plenary body and of the main committees. In addition, they attended special briefings on agenda items that were being considered in plenary and in the main committees during their stay in New York, prepared for them by the Canadian delegates and advisers on those bodies. They also had the opportunity to attend lectures given by United Nations officials from the United Nations Development Program and the UN Children's Fund.

In the general meetings of the Canadian delegation, held every Tuesday and Friday morning at the offices of the Permanent Mission, the Parliamentary observers were able to see at close hand how the delegation considered its approach to specific issues raised in the General Assembly, and in turn were able to express their views on agenda items of interest to them.

Some observers also met members of parliament from other countries who had likewise travelled to New York to join their respective delegations to the United Nations. Others were able to meet Canadian journalists covering the UN and to review with them some of the major international problems under discussion at the twenty-sixth session.



## *Chinese Art Given to People of Canada*

**S**INCE June 1971 a rare and valuable collection of Chinese art and artifacts has been on display at the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, British Columbia. The Chen Collection is a gift of Mrs. King Foh Chen and her children Mr. George Chen, Miss Jadelia Chen and Mrs. Michael Yang. Mrs. Chen is a citizen and former resident of Indonesia, who now makes her home in Canada.

The Chen Collection includes 306 Chinese works of art, porcelain, screens, textiles, jade and metal work from the Han, T'ang, Sung, Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. It was accumulated by Mrs. Chen's late husband and his family over a period of three generations. It is in his memory and in appreciation for the reception Mrs. Chen has received in Canada that she and her family have donated



*Mr. B. C. Butler, former Canadian High Commissioner to Malaysia (right), and Mr. C. D. Graham, Director, Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, with a Ming Dynasty Foh dog from the Chen Collection.*

the collection to the Canadian people. The collection has been presented through the National Museums of Canada and will be housed in the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria. In addition to the gift, the Chen family has provided further pieces on an extended loan to the Gallery.

Mr. B. C. Butler, recently retired Canadian High Commissioner to Malaysia and now resident in Victoria, acted on behalf of the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria to arrange for the transfer of the collection to Canada. The Canadian Government, through its Embassy in Djakarta, obtained the necessary concurrence of the Indonesian Government for the removal of the collection which was flown to Canada on Canadian Armed Forces aircraft.

The Art Gallery of Greater Victoria reports that the Chen Collection has been well received by the public and is becoming familiar on the Pacific Coast. It constitutes an important section of the Gallery's Asian collection and will contribute, it is hoped, to a growing Canadian awareness of Asian civilizations.

In appreciation of permission to bring the Chen Collection to Canada, the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria has assembled a collection of Eskimo stone sculptures for presentation to Indonesia by the Canadian Government.

## *Studies of Canada in the United States*

**D**URING the 1971 annual meeting in Ottawa, early in November, of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, reference was made by the President of Trent University, T. H. B. Symons, to the centres of Canadian studies in the United States and to the fact that a few of these were well-developed and bigger than any in Canada.

Only a few days before the meeting, a small group of students, representing several Washington universities, had been in Ottawa on a field trip. Their professor and leader was Dr. Roger F. Swanson from the Center of Canadian Studies of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington. This is one of the more recently established of the nine centres of Canadian studies in the United States.

The other eight centres include: a program at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, which is part of the Commonwealth Studies Center; a Canadian studies program at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York; a Cana-



*Three Canadian Members of Parliament pose for the camera with a group of students from Washington: standing, third, fourth and sixth from the left—Mr. Oza Tétrault, Mr. C. Terrence Murphy and Mr. W. B. Nesbitt; seated, centre—Dr. Roger F. Swanson, Center of Canadian Studies, the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.*



dian studies program at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan; a Canadian studies program at the University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont; a New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Center at the University of Maine, Orono, Maine; an inter-disciplinary program at the Clarkson College of Technology, Potsdam, New York; and a Canadian studies program at the State University College of Arts and Sciences, Plattsburgh, New York. There is also a Chair of Canadian Studies at Harvard University.

### **Johns Hopkins Report**

The Johns Hopkins Center, shortly after its establishment, undertook a survey of all four-year accredited American universities and colleges on the extent of Canadian studies in the United States. This was in the autumn of 1969. The results of the survey were discussed at a conference in the spring of 1970 at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia. In compiling their statistics, Dr. Swanson pointed out in his report, which was prepared for the conference, that it was agreed that a college or university "is regarded as having a Canadian studies program if the respondent indicated that there is a concentration of courses within a defined program on Canada, administered by a center or faculty committee". Dr. Swanson's report also stated that: "five of the nine institutions having Canadian studies programs listed special scholarships on Canadian studies. All nine listed special library collections, all nine listed faculty with a special interest in Canada and eight of the nine listed M.A. or PhD. theses on Canada." In addition to the nine universities, 89 institutions were listed as offering one or more courses on Canada.

There is also, on a regional basis, some sharing of interests and facilities, such as in the Boston area under the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. A similar sharing of talent and facilities is under way in the Washington area, where six universities are situated, all of which have demonstrated some interest in Canadian studies. When a pilot course organized by the Canadian Embassy for the Georgetown University extension department proved a success, an undergraduate course open to students in all six universities was launched. It was from this course, given by Dr. Swanson, that a few of the students came to Ottawa for their October field trip.

The inclusion of a field trip during the academic year is an aspect of Canadian studies that is drawing more and more professors and students to Canada. Some 20 groups, the majority at university level, were in touch with the Department of External Affairs during 1971 to seek programming assistance for their field trips to Canada, including interviews in Ottawa.

### **Course Content**

Understandably, the majority of the 98 universities and colleges that offer courses on Canada are located in states along the border. The largest group of courses offered is in Canadian history. Others are in political science, economics, geo-

graphy, literature and jurisprudence. Of these institutions, 69 offer one course, 15 offer two, five offer three or more and there are the nine centres.

The groups that come to Ottawa may be from as far away as Tacoma, Washington, or as close as Canton, New York. They may come faithfully once a year, as many of the groups are doing, and they may stay in Canada or in Ottawa from one day to three weeks. They may be political science students, history majors, or just students with a general interest in Parliamentary matters, the Canadian Government and what Ottawa offers as a capital city.

A decision was taken at Airlic House in the spring of 1970 to work towards the establishment of an Association of Canadian Studies in the United States. ACSUS was born at a meeting at Duke University in April 1971. Its first *Newsletter* published a statement of purpose in which the founding president, Richard A. Preston of Duke University, pointed out: "The problem of stimulating interest in Canada in the United States differs radically in certain ways from the problem of stimulating all other kinds of study because of certain geographical and historical circumstances. American apathy in the past has been partly due to the fact that Canadian society has seemed little different from that of the United States, and partly to the fact that Canada has not been a 'crisis area'. Traditionally the study of Canada in the United States has been carried on by expatriate Canadians. Since Canadian scholarship is so close at hand, there is a tendency to turn to work done in Canada rather than to stimulate work on Canada in the United States".

According to Professor Preston, the Association's "expressed purpose" and "essential function" would be "to promote scholarly interest in Canada at all levels in the United States and in all fields and disciplines", a scholarly interest "that compares favourably with scholarship in the United States in other areas of study". Dr. Dale C. Thomson, Director of the Johns Hopkins Center for Canadian Studies, was elected the President of the Executive Council of ACSUS at the meeting at Duke University last April and Dr. Swanson became the secretary-treasurer and editor of the *Newsletter*.

Field trips to Ottawa by U. S. university groups have been going on for some 20 years or so, but the numbers coming annually are increasing and the length of stay extending into an inter-term course of seminars, briefings, orientation, research, etc.

### **Value of Field Trips**

Dr. Swanson's report on his return to Washington to Dr. Thomson and to the deans of the two other Washington universities represented on the field trip referred to the value of such a trip, "largely dependent upon intensive preparation before the trip", and commented that all were well served by the journey: the Johns Hopkins Center, with its emphasis on expanding scholarly interest in Canada in the Washington area; the universities, well represented by their students; the Canadian Government, in being able to present its position and workings to Ameri-

can students; and the students themselves. As Dr. Swanson noted: "I can think of no more demanding disciplinary test in international relations than that of experiencing a foreign environment while simultaneously being called upon to cogently discuss foreign policy with leading foreign specialists."

The 98 universities with one course or more or with a centre of Canadian studies are only a small number of the academic institutions in the United States. The intention of ACSUS, according to Dr. Thomson, is to support those currently engaged in Canadian studies and add to their ranks, offering assistance to those wishing to introduce Canadian content into pre-college programs. Interestingly enough, among the field trips to Ottawa from the United States have been several from senior high-school students with a serious interest in Canadian affairs.

Assistance to professors and universities is being offered by the Canadian Embassy in Washington and by the Canadian consular offices in the United States in the form of information material such as bibliographies, course outlines, donations of books, films, display materials and lists of speakers. Associate members of ACSUS resident in Canada are co-operative in briefing those who venture north for a field trip, and the Department of External Affairs, with the assistance of other government departments and agencies — federal, provincial and municipal —, provides whatever help is requested with the program.



## "*External Affairs*"

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS 1948-1971

EARLY in 1948, it was agreed that the Department of External Affairs should expand the format and content of the mimeographed monthly bulletin that had been produced for official use, and the first printed edition of *External Affairs* appeared in November of that year. The November and December issues were distributed free and Volume I, No. 1, began in January 1949. This December issue of *External Affairs*, Volume 23, No. 12, will be the last issue of the monthly bulletin of the Department of External Affairs. It will be replaced by a new departmental journal, *International Perspectives*, containing background articles and comment on foreign affairs, which will be published six times a year beginning with the January/February 1972 issue.

The monthly bulletin *External Affairs* has fulfilled a valuable function in providing current information on Canadian foreign policy and as a source of reference for readers in Canada and abroad. It has been part of the total information program of the Department of External Affairs, complemented by other material produced by the Department, such as the *Statements and Speeches* series. *External Affairs* has been produced with the assistance of an inter-divisional editorial committee widely representative of departmental interests and responsibilities. The committee has met monthly to plan the contents of current and future issues. Co-ordinating, editing and production have been the continuing responsibility of the Information Division.

In the course of its long and honourable career, *External Affairs* has covered a very wide range of subjects, from reports of travel by Canadian diplomats in Central Africa or the Galapagos Islands to dissertations on international law, as well as providing reports on international conferences, texts of ministerial statements, etc. A very large number of the foreign service officers of the Department have, at one time or another, contributed articles or served on the editorial board.

It has, however, been decided that the demand for a different type of magazine, designed to reach a wider audience, could best be met by starting a completely new publication. The purposes and aims of the new journal will be set out in a statement of editorial policy in the first issue, which will appear early in 1972. All persons on the mailing list for *External Affairs* will automatically receive *International Perspectives* and the new journal will also be available in Information Canada bookstores and at Canadian missions abroad. Back copies of *External Affairs*, particularly for recent years, may be requested from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada, K1A 0G2.

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